

COLLIS POTTER
HUNTINGTON

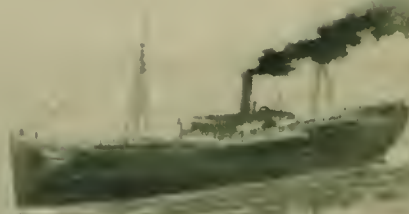
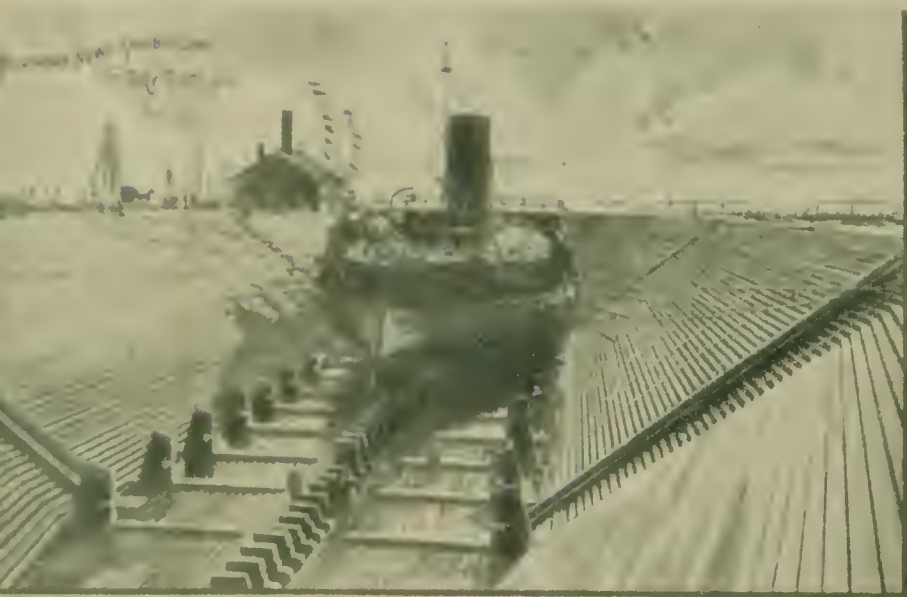


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Collis Potter Huntington

Collis Potter Huntington

BY CERINDA W. EVANS

Volume Two

1 1 1

*“Success in life only means honesty of
purpose and intelligent economy.”*

THE MARINERS' MUSEUM • NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

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COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON



Chapter XLV

SAN FRANCISCO AND THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY



A WRITER in referring to the early period of San Francisco, classes American journalism in its lowest stages with savages and small boys who find delight in inflicting pain on others. This, according to the writer, was exhibited in all parts of America but with particular intensity in San Francisco whose inhabitants “exalted personal courage, directness of encounter, straight and effective shooting.”

The social group was so small that any news of importance would be known by all before it could be printed; and the distance from the rest of the world so great, no pretense was made for years at furnishing news from the outside.

Of the early newspapers of San Francisco, the writer said:

Newspapers came to rely upon other sorts of interests. They were pamphlets for disseminating the opinions of the persons controlling them, and weapons for doing battle if need be for those opinions. . . . Editors and readers enjoyed a good fight; they also wanted humorous entertainment; the newspapers happily combined the two. In 1847, we find the editors of *The Californian* of Monterey and *The California Star* attacking the community generally and each other particularly with the utmost ferocity, laying about them right and left with verbal broadaxes, crowbars, and such other weapons as might be immediately at hand.

The California Star's introduction to the public of what would now be known as "our esteemed contemporary" is typical: "We have received two late numbers of *The Californian*, a dim, dirty little paper printed in Monterey on the worn out materials of one of the old California war presses. It is published and edited by Walter Colton and Robert Semple, the one a *whining sycophant*, and the other an *overgrown lickspittle*. . . ."

Down through the 70's and 80's, the tradition persisted, newspapers being bought and read, as a historian of journalism asserts, not so much for news as to see who was getting "lambasted" that day. It is not strange, then, that journals of redoubtable pugnacity were popular in San Francisco, or that editors favored writers who were likely to excel in the gladiatorial style.¹

This attitude on the part of San Francisco, if correctly interpreted, may partially explain the savage and continual attacks of some of her newspapers upon the Pacific Railroad and its promoters.

Early in her history, San Francisco became the center of business and trade for the surrounding neighborhoods and adjoining counties; and with the growth of the city this trade expanded to include the Pacific slope from British Columbia to Mexico and beyond the Sierras. All the manufactures and wares consumed were drawn from San Francisco as were supplies and subsistence for adjoining territories.

After the discovery of gold on the American River all miners' supplies including food, wearing apparel, tools, and machinery were purchased in San Francisco; prices being regulated not by the law of supply and demand, but by arbitrary edicts issued by the city's Board of Trade. However abundant food and other materials were, the prices to miners were always exorbitant. Banks loaned money at the rate of from one to two per cent a month, sometimes as high as three per cent, if the borrower's case were urgent.²

The records of the Customs House show that during the 60's and into the 70's, practically all the exporting of domestic products and the importation of foreign goods for this vast region of the Coast was done by San Francisco. There is no mention of any exports in 1860 through any other California port.³

San Francisco responded to the agitation in 1850 for a Pacific Railroad by one or two futile attempts at building what was to be the western end of a Pacific Railroad. When the United States Railroad Surveys for a transcontinental route were made in 1853-1855, San Francisco was quick to say that by all and whatever means the first great Inter-oceanic Railway must terminate at San Francisco in order to maintain her supremacy. "Let the Interoceanic Railway now be built and San Francisco will be the great *entrepôt* of America—the Tyre of the Pacific—and California the most populous, enlightened and civilized country in the world."⁴ To this end was the Railroad Convention held in San Francisco in 1859, which failed to get the expected subsidy from the National Government.

When the Central Pacific Railroad Company was organized in Sacramento in 1861, San Francisco treated the occurrence with amused disbelief; but when the Federal Government by an Act of Congress in 1862, granted this company the subsidy and land grant which had been denied to San Francisco, a deep and lasting resentment was aroused in the breasts of some of the people of that city, which was augmented by interests that would be affected by the success of the railroad. This resentment was manifested by a strong opposition to everything connected with the railroad and the company, and was made vociferous by some of her most influential newspapers.

The firm of Pioche & Bayerque of San Francisco, promoters of the Sacramento Valley Railroad, with interests in some of the San Francisco newspapers, originated much of the opposition against the Central Pacific Company. The latter had declined to purchase the Sacramento Valley Railroad as it was not on the route of the Central Pacific and the track was of a different gauge. Writers were engaged for *The Alta Californian*, *The Bulletin*, and *The Call* and damaging articles appeared almost daily in one or more of these papers. Subjects like the following were discussed as established facts:

- (1) Filling up of the Sacramento harbor.
- (2) Another railroad was being built to a new city a few miles lower on the river which would command the trade.
- (3) The company could not build a railroad as they were just merchants and not railroad men.
- (4) The condition of the company was frequently represented as desperate, not yet able to command Government subsidy and available funds.
- (5) The mortgage given to secure bondholders was represented as indebtedness.
- (6) Sacramento and Placer Counties and all other stockholders were liable for untold amounts under the Constitution of California.⁵

The editors and correspondents who favored and defended the railroad were charged with yielding to "corrupt influences," with being "lickspittles" and "toadies" to the managers of the Central Pacific.

San Francisco's refusal to have any part in the ownership of the railroad company by rejecting the offer to subscribe



Huntington Park for Children, Site of the Huntington House on Nob Hill, San Francisco



Huntington Park for Children, Aerial View

for stock; and the fight to prevent payment to the company of the \$1,000,000 voted by the citizens of the city and county have already been related.

When the question of the purchase of a portion of the swamp lands of Mission Bay from the state arose, the San Francisco newspapers, aided by the Sacramento *Union*, attacked the company crying: "Thieves! Robbers! Sharks! What do they want with four hundred acres when forty is sufficient? Shall we give those harpies all we possess?" Yet this was an effort on the part of the company to establish a suitable terminal at San Francisco, a procedure which that city imperiously demanded as her right.

The same bitter denunciation, long drawn out, was shown when the question of using a portion of Goat Island for a terminal arose. The barrage of complaints and maledictions hurled against freight rates and fares were endless. Indeed, anything concerning the Central Pacific Railroad Company furnished grist for the mills of the San Francisco newspapers to grind. This hostility to the railroads spread in the city and to other parts of the State in a manner described as follows by a contemporary writer:

The journal pours out its malice upon the railroads without stint and vilifies with personal abuse its directors. A part of the people encourage [even enjoy!] this warfare and agree with the newspapers. This war is carried from business to social life, from social life to politics, and thence into the halls of the lawmakers.⁶

Early in 1864, about a year before San Francisco had been forced by the courts to pay \$400,000 in bonds to the Central Pacific Railroad Company, the Board of Trade of that city appointed a committee to examine the progress and con-

dition of the company. This committee took with them an "expert" to examine the books and accounts of the company.

The Secretary of the company prepared for them a full statement of the financial condition of the company verified by his oath. Two reports of the committee were made: first, that of one F. McCoppin, a bitter antagonist of the railroad, who wrote his report without consulting the Chairman of the committee. His report ignored the statement by the Secretary, but dwelt at length upon the refusal of the company to place their books and accounts into the hands of their "expert," a total stranger and employed by an unfriendly group.

McCoppin's report expressed a doubt that the company could build the fifty-nine miles required in two years (although thirty-one miles had already been built). "In that case," said the report, "the whole question will have to be passed upon by Congress and may be so amended that Government aid may be given to the company which first builds a road to the State line." This seems to imply a strong hope that another company—from San Francisco, of course—might take over the railroad.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board of Directors, the Chairman of the committee submitted his report: a full, reliable statement of the financial condition of the company, amount of work done, rolling stock and iron purchased, length of track laid down, number of miles graded, the time required for the work, and the manner in which the affairs had been administered by the company.⁷

An attempt at another investigation of the Central Pacific Railroad Company was made on February 28, 1868. A petition of certain citizens and taxpayers of San Francisco asking for an investigation in the affairs of the company was

presented to the California Senate. Among the matters to be investigated were: (1) whether it was intended the company should be a close corporation or that stock should be offered the public; (2) whether the directors have not made it a close corporation and excluded the public from taking stock; (3) whether they have not distributed among themselves money which should have been appropriated toward building the road; (4) whether they have not fraudulently diverted money toward the purchase of the Western Pacific and other franchises, and several other matters of like nature. A debate in the Senate on a resolution to appoint a committee for the investigation resulted in an indefinite postponement.⁸

Since the people of San Francisco had been given many opportunities to purchase stock in the Central Pacific Company, had been asked to join the C. Crocker & Co., and the Contract & Finance Company in the construction of the road, it would seem that such an investigation for being a "close corporation," was both unnecessary and highly unethical.

Later when the road was in running order even more violent attacks were made on the company and their credit. The builders were charged with having stolen \$200,000,000, although no such amount had been obtained toward building the road.⁹ Notices were sent to stockholders in Europe endeavoring to depreciate their securities. The road itself was represented as dangerous in the extreme; the discomforts of crossing the mountains were exaggerated beyond all reason; any minor accident was enlarged to a wreck of major proportions. "Monopoly" and "Octopus" became synonyms for the railroad, and "fraudulent" a term to be applied to any and all activities of the company.

The following extracts from a speech by Cornelius Cole, a U. S. Senator from California, on pending railroad questions delivered at San Francisco, September 23, 1872, reveals the attitude of some of the people:

Instead of seeking as in duty and honor bound to accommodate the business of San Francisco from which they have drawn largely, very largely, they threaten that business with injury if not destruction. . . . The Central Pacific Railroad firm know too well they cannot disregard with impunity the proper requirements of such a community as this. . . . The idea of stopping short of the great commercial emporium of the Pacific with the Pacific Railroad is one of comparatively modern origin, it being understood all the while that the Central Pacific Company were to make their principal depot at San Francisco. The company has received enormous donations with the clear understanding on the part of everybody that San Francisco would be the western terminus of the Pacific Railroad.

In April 1872, the Committee of One Hundred was chosen in San Francisco whose avowed purpose was "to protect" the interests of the city in its relations with the Central Pacific Company. To this end some resolutions were drawn up and adopted "unanimously" on April 16, 1872, a copy of which was sent by the Secretary, Alfred Wheeler, to Leland Stanford, president of the railroad company.

In the Preamble of four "Whereases" it was stated that the Central Pacific, Western Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad companies had received from the Federal Government, the State of California, various counties in the State, and the city of San Francisco, "enormous grants of land and subsidies of bonds and money," more than sufficient for the entire construction and equipment of the roads, with the intention and understanding that the western terminus of the roads should be within the city of San Francisco on Mission Bay. But in

entire disregard of the compact, the companies had obtained lands at Oakland and directed the system of roads from that side of the Bay, and had been making efforts to obtain a grant or lease of Goat Island for the purpose of a terminus against the expressed wishes of the city and in defiance of the damage and danger to the harbor.

There followed six "Resolutions" in which it was stated that San Francisco expected strict compliance with the terms of the compact and the immediate location of the terminus on Mission Bay, and the abandonment of any intention of fixing the terminus at any other point; to withdraw all claims to Goat Island and cease further construction at Oakland; that the city would if necessary resort to legal tribunals to maintain her rights; that it was to the interests of San Francisco to be in accord with the railroad company, demanding in return prompt and exact compliance with agreements; that another railroad connecting the Atlantic and Pacific, free from obstruction and delay due to the severities of winter, and having its terminus in San Francisco, should be constructed as soon as possible.

In his reply, Leland Stanford cited the actual aid given or loaned to the companies, which was considerably less than the "enormous grants" claimed by the Committee: (1) No money had ever been given to any of the three railroad companies named. (2) San Francisco had never given any land to either the Central or Western Pacific. (3) The grants received were sufficient for only about forty per cent of the cost of construction and equipment. (4) No grant of any kind had been received on condition that the western terminus be located at San Francisco; the Acts of Congress had not so stipulated. (5) While the companies were providing

for a depot on the sixty acres at Mission Bay granted by the State, they did not admit the right of the Committee to demand that the companies should not have terminals at other places. (6) The companies did not consider they had ever given cause for the threat to employ legal measures against them. (7) The demand that the Central Pacific Company withdraw all claim for a grant or lease at Goat Island for terminal purposes was unreasonable. (8) The Central Pacific had operated without a day's detention east of Sacramento since its completion, there had been no delay or obstruction due to the severities of winter.

Stanford also reminded the Committee of the efforts of the companies four years previous to purchase four hundred acres of land on Mission Bay for a depot where they could have the facilities of deep water for shipping, and the storm of criticism and denunciation that followed which finally resulted in the grant by the State of the meager sixty acres, three hundred feet from the waterfront.

At the time these demands were made by the Committee of One Hundred, the railroad companies were expending large sums of money in the purchase of additional lands at Mission Bay, filling them in, and in the construction of a large ferryboat that would transport loaded trains of freight cars across the Bay. In the fall of 1873, the offices of the Central Pacific Company and the residences of its directors were transferred from Sacramento to San Francisco.

When the railroad was nearing Promontory Point, the San Francisco Board of Trade notified the company that they must establish a freight schedule which would give them the trade that they had previously enjoyed in supplying the interior. They fully expected to maintain their commercial

supremacy, and indications were that few persons realized the great changes that would take place in that city and the whole of California by the completion of the overland road.¹⁰

The first change came immediately in the fall of prices on an average of thirty-three percent on all articles from the East, due to the competition between steamer and railroad. Soon much of the freight from the East ceased to pass through San Francisco, which thus lost a considerable part of her revenue. This was blamed on the railroad company as an intentional diversion of traffic because of their unfriendliness toward the city. San Francisco, the metropolis of the state, had no control over or even interest in the great transportation company handling her trade of which she was losing an important part, and her indignation knew no bounds. It was in the hopes of regaining much of the lost traffic that she insisted upon having a terminal at Mission Bay.¹¹

With the completion of the Northern Pacific, the area of distribution by San Francisco was still further reduced and freights were no longer brought to that city to be sold along the Coast north of California. That the managers of the Central Pacific were concerned about this was told by Charles Crocker in an interview with a newspaper representative:

In view of the completion of the Northern Pacific and the loss of the Oregon, British Columbia and Washington Territory business to the merchants of San Francisco, I deem it all important that the Oregon & California road should be completed at the earliest day possible, and the foothills of California should be developed by railroads. This will be necessary in order to increase the trade of San Francisco, which has lost, I think, twenty percent of her business by the building of the Northern Pacific.

By developing the foothills of California by railroads, a back country of hundreds of towns were developed whose merchants were afforded opportunity to trade in San Francisco. This trade offset, in a measure, the loss of trade with towns on the main line.

When Southern California was opened up by the Southern Pacific Railroad it was said by a writer that the newspapers of San Francisco regarded with amused contempt the dreams of the people of San Diego and Los Angeles of direct communication with the East, and gave hardly more than a passing thought to the possibilities involved. When they did think of that connection, it was to regard it in the light of a convenience which would enable the people of the South to reach more readily the Metropolis on the Bay of San Francisco!¹²

In a speech upon the railroad problems, February 8, 1883, State Senator Vrooman said:

Was there ever such an enterprise undertaken and prosecuted to a successful termination under such adverse circumstances as this railroad was built? When the railroad company commenced to build this railroad, the merchants of San Francisco had absolute control of all the other merchants of this coast. . . . Before the building of the railroad, the merchants of San Francisco could combine and fix the price on food and provisions, and they would sometimes advance the price five hundred percent in a single day.

They kept a record of all inbound vessels with their cargoes, and if any vessel was out thirty days, they would buy up what was in the market and fix their own price upon these useful and necessary commodities from which there was no rebate. . . . I remember the time when I was upon the line where this railroad is now built, I had to pay one dollar a pound for flour to sustain life. Can any such condition of things arise now?

It was those monopolies that opposed the construction of the railroad; those monopolies which subsidized the press of the city and called the construction of the road the "Dutch Flat Swindle."

In December 1883, an editorial appeared in *The Bulletin* charging the railroad with discrimination against San Francisco because Oakland, San José, Stockton, Sacramento, Marysville, and Los Angeles had been designated terminal points where goods were dropped off for the convenience of the merchants doing business in those places. Formerly such ports had to import by way of San Francisco and so to deprive that city of this trade was "unjust discrimination." J. C. Stubbs, traffic manager for the railroad, wrote to the editor of *The Bulletin* regarding this article, on December 21, 1883:

. . . I must object to your conclusions on the ground that it is unfair to the carriers, unjust to the jobbers of merchandise at interior points, and in antagonism to the generally accepted notion as to what constitutes discrimination in the construction of freight tariffs. How can the railroad contract system favor the interior terminal points at the expense of San Francisco, as you claim, when from the very opening of the through line, these points have been accorded the same rates as San Francisco?

The Bulletin followed this with the accusation:

Everything has been done that could be done by the railroad to destroy the value of the seaport of San Francisco. Millions of dollars have been paid to subsidize the Pacific Mail. Local rates have been so fixed as to prevent the marketing of the products of California through San Francisco. This city has been hampered by them with artificial restraints and always will be until it exerts itself.

A contemporary weekly newspaper expressed its disapproval of the attitude of *The Bulletin* and other newspapers in the following editorial:

A great deal has been said about people being railroad ridden, but Great God! We cannot conceive of any more deplorable condition than to be newspaper ridden. That is the cancer that is eating out the vitals of San Francisco to-day, and which, if not checked in time, will leave it a business and civic corpse at the very opening of the Golden Gate.

We speak of *The Bulletin* particularly for the reason that it has been a tradition with that paper to denounce and anathematize everything not first proposed in its columns for the benefit of San Francisco, and to fiercely impugn the motives of others in making the same proposition.¹³

In a lecture on "The Press," February 28, 1895, Marcus D. Boruck, Secretary to the Governor, and editor of the *California Spirit of the Times*, said:

Certain daily papers have pertinaciously charged that the railroad has been a great injury to the city and state. I say that if the railroad lived to be as old as Methuselah, it could not do a shadow of the injury done to San Francisco by her daily press, by the unpardonable course it has at all times pursued. . . .

And the condition of the daily press is no different to-day than it has always been; its disease is not sporadic but chronic. Now this Satanic Press is howling with delight at the prospect of a new railroad that will cripple what it calls the "Octopus." . . . They are delighted with the idea of a competing road because they think it will injure the present system of transportation which is not the Octopus to be dreaded in California, but that which has well nigh destroyed California generally and the Metropolitan city particularly, the Octopus of the daily press of San Francisco.

The Traffic Association of California was organized by the merchants of San Francisco, October 30, 1891, in an effort to revive the commerce of that port. The residents of interior towns and country districts refused to join, however, and the association could not carry out its plans against the railroad. Said *The Wave* in an editorial on July 16, 1892:

The California Traffic Association is being led astray by demagogues. The stagnation in trade is no more due to the "exactions" and "oppressions" of the Southern Pacific than to the late eclipse of the moon. For years the interior has been growing at the expense of this city. Estimate the progress of Sacramento, Stockton, Napa, San José, Fresno, and Los Angeles, all of which have been dependent upon this city for everything, and it is easy to see where the San Francisco trade has gone.

The construction of the Northern Pacific took the North entirely from us. Owing to the establishment of what are called "the eastern terminals," by the California Traffic Association, every large town in California is now dealing with the East cheaper than they can deal here [San Francisco], while the fruit, wine, and wheat are going East and to sea [Southern Pacific via New Orleans] without touching San Francisco. This is in obedience to the inexorable laws of trade. How idle for the merchants of the California Traffic Association to seek a remedy by employing Traffic Manager Leeds to howl at the Southern Pacific.

In an interview with a representative of *The Bulletin* March 2, 1894, as to the reason why transcontinental railroads are not building into San Francisco, Traffic Manager Leeds made some surprising statements:

It is plain enough to see what the policy of all the transcontinental roads is concerning the Pacific Coast. Everything has been done that could be done by the railroads to destroy the value of the seaport of San Francisco. What have they done in twenty years to build up San Francisco by extending its trade eastward? Of course all the transcontinental roads are afraid San Francisco will help herself instead of waiting for help to come from them, whose interests it is to close up the Golden Gate to commerce.

If San Francisco has the pluck, she has the power to place herself right and teach them a salutary lesson. Local rates have been so fixed as to prevent the marketing of the products of California through San Francisco. This city has been hampered by them with

artificial restraints and always will be until it exerts itself. We have a great seaport with practically no railway service except such as is made use of to knock out the service which we might have through the Golden Gate. The eastern seaports grow by sending railroads out from them; our railroads lead into San Francisco in the further interest of eastern cities. It is true that transcontinental roads are afraid to come in here because they are afraid to build us up. They can haul supplies to 400,000 people around the Bay but they don't want us to reach out eastward with our business.

What an amazing confession of the ineptitude of the people of a city! And this the metropolis of the whole Pacific Coast! Waited twenty years to be built up by the railroads in extending her trade eastward. Now, San Francisco will help herself and teach the railroads a salutary lesson—if she has the pluck!

What charges did Leeds have against the railroads which prevented San Francisco from being built up? The chief cause given for the bitter resentment, upon which all other charges were based, was that San Francisco was no longer the chief market for supplying the Pacific Coast and the interior districts. For this loss of trade, the railroads were blamed. That another enterprise should have the power to respond to the needs of those communities and be the means of their rapid development was gall and wormwood to the metropolitan city.

The complaint that the railroads lead into San Francisco instead of being sent out as in eastern cities is plain sophistry. Any railroad that entered San Francisco—and there were four transcontinental lines—gladly conveyed exports as well as imports whenever there were exports to be transported.

Again and again Mr. Huntington had suggested the way in which San Francisco and the State could be built up:

“Develop the resources of the state by establishing manufacturing factories to convert raw materials into finished goods. . . . Prepare the products of the farm for shipment in a way that they may not be classed as perishable. . . . Instead of accepting the tithe for her raw materials and paying the other nine-tenths to bring it back in shapes for use, San Francisco should manufacture them herself.”

In *The Wave* on July 16, 1892, there appeared an article entitled, “The Railroad Question,” which sought to correct the impression spread so assiduously by the newspapers that the prosperity of California, particularly that of San Francisco had been injured by the railroads. In reference to this article, Mr. Huntington wrote to the editor of *The Wave* as follows:

In *The Wave* of recent date appears an article entitled “The Railroad Question” which I have read with much interest. I wish all the people of California would read it carefully, particularly those residing or doing business at or near the city of San Francisco as I think it contains many valuable suggestions with respect to the problem of how to build up and develop the trade and commercial importance of your city.

It is becoming more and more evident to the people of San Francisco themselves that something must be done in this direction, and that a radical change of policy must be made. Nothing can be made by tearing down, but everything by building up. In California, it has been “every man for himself” ever since the state began its existence and nowhere in the Union has this selfish and unwise spirit been more pronounced.

California has many advantages; her geographical position is good; her climate and soil unsurpassed by any other in the world. San Francisco is her natural emporium, her commercial and financial center. Who says that San Francisco cannot be made one of the finest cities in the world, situated as she is upon one of the finest

harbors in the world, with her invigorating climate, a climate that is neither hot in summer nor cold in winter; in fact, a climate that seems to have been so prepared that man could make his greatest effort there. How has she improved her opportunity? On what seas has she sent her ships out to gather tonnage to fill her warehouses and bring home crude material to her mill? For centuries the Caucasian race has been endeavoring to reach by the shortest lines the Orient to gather its rich commerce. A vast amount of money has been made and great cities built out of the profits of that commerce. It was left for San Francisco at the very gates of the vast business to repel it, to scatter and not to gather it. Yes! the only ships that she has ever chartered—she has never built any—were chartered because she hoped by so doing to be able to tear down one of her greatest industries that is doing all it can to build up California; an organization that is making no more money than is necessary to pay its fixed and current expenses, which must be done if property is worked continuously. No boy or man ever got a ride by crying “Whip behind!” Let each one do the best he can for himself without doing harm to others. . . .

There are so many things that ought to be done and must be before San Francisco becomes a great city. There is a business that California can reach, the business of Eastern Asia. . . . Why do not the men of your city, who are so well equipped mentally and financially, gather this business and enrich not only themselves, but the city by its control?

Again, on April 27, 1893, in answer to a letter from Mr. William H. Mills of San Francisco on the subject, Mr. Huntington wrote as follows:

. . . I think that you and I are in perfect accord about the matters referred to by you, and I am quite sure that no one would do more than we to benefit California or the city of San Francisco. . . . Certainly San Francisco can never grow up to be a big city by merely trading or exchanging commodities made outside the state. She must have manufactories of her own so as to give employment to her

people. She is so situated that there are many things that can be manufactured there better, or I may say, more economically than they can by any other people for her climate is almost perfect and in no other place in the world, I believe, can the laboring classes live so well on a fixed sum. . . . A large population must have something to do, otherwise the people cannot sustain themselves either morally or financially, "the Devil finds work for idle hands to do." . . .

There are about 35,000,000 pounds of wool shipped out of San Francisco. How much of that 35,000,000 pounds is converted into fabric or even yarn before it leaves the State? I think only a small portion. What an industry that would be for her people! . . . I suppose that these 35,000,000 pounds of wool bring to the state no more than \$7,000,000, when if it were manufactured into the great variety of goods into which it is susceptible of being manufactured, the amount would be at least \$35,000,000, a great sum to be saved to the State; the greatest blessing it would bring is the labor which would be given to her people. . . . And when it came to the distribution of the product, I would promise for the Southern Pacific Company that it would put them into the furthest markets we could reach at a rate barely above the cost of actual movement of the trains, and the train movement is but a small part of operating a railroad. I do believe that if the people of San Francisco would consider the matter more, they would come to the conclusion that their city cannot be built up altogether by cheap transportation. . . . Probably the valleys of California produce a larger quantity and a better quality of fruit than is produced anywhere else in the world; and I am told that a very large tonnage of it goes to waste partly for the lack of markets and partly for lack of hands to gather it which seems strange in a community where the number of unemployed hands is so great. It would seem to show that there is something radically wrong in the organization of labor in the State. I think we could put into the cities of Western Europe this great tonnage of fine fruit at a price not to exceed a dollar a hundred pounds if it were properly preserved and suitably prepared for shipment at central points so that the cost of preparation and transportation could be minimized. . . .

I note your inquiry, "Cannot we do something to satisfy the people of San Francisco, and in some way assist in building up the city?"

Now I hardly know what to say in reply to this as no one, I believe, has done more for California than I have. . . . My greatest interest for nearly half a century has been in that state, and I have a real affection for the country that was the scene of my earliest and most important work. If I could succeed in bringing about a good feeling between the people and the railroad, and anyway advance the interest of California and the city of San Francisco, it would be very gratifying to me personally. . . .

A competing railroad was the subject for innumerable discussions and newspaper editorials in San Francisco. A new road was regarded as the remedy to cure all her commercial woes, and a just means of defeating the existing roads.

That its construction and equipment would require the investment of a large capital, upon which a yearly interest would have to be paid to those who furnished the money, just as the stockholders of the existing road demanded theirs, did not prevent various attempts made by interested persons to organize such a road.

When the San Francisco & Salt Lake Railroad Company was formed in May 1892, Mr. Huntington said to the New York representative of the San Francisco *Examiner*:

I think the people of San Francisco in their effort to obtain another overland road are not doing that which is most conducive to the best interests of that city or of California, as the present roads can handle several times the business there is to transport, and with a larger tonnage could reduce the rates which cannot be done with the present volume of business. . . . If another overland road were built, the rates would have to be advanced if fair interest were to be earned upon the cost of the capital invested.

The way to get lower rates is to increase the tonnage which could be done if the people of San Francisco and California would turn



Huntington Falls at Strawberry Hill in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco



COURTESY OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY

Coach Train of 1880 En Route South from San Francisco to Los Angeles

their attention to developing the resources of their state. . . . If that time should ever come, and I am confident it will, when the people of California make up their minds to do the work that is nearest to them, the railroads will soon have a volume of business that will allow of the minimum of rates.

After the successful completion of the Sunset Route and the consolidation of the railroads into one great system, the Southern Pacific Company, the venom of the newspapers was largely centered upon the man chiefly responsible for that work, Collis Potter Huntington. Upon one of his infrequent visits to San Francisco, *The Call* took advantage of the occasion to give Mr. Huntington some advice. After referring to Mr. Huntington's gift of \$25,000 for a lake and waterfall in the Golden Gate Park, the editor said:

It is the present opportunity of Mr. Huntington to be again the benefactor of the people of California. How? By considering well the attitude which the corporation he controls has held toward California and its people in the past, and the attitude which in all justice it should occupy in the present and future. By bending his ear to the outcry of the entire state against schedules which are exorbitant and unequal; against policies which are narrow and selfish and destructive of industrial growth; against railroad policies in every election in village, township, city and county; against the railroad lobby at the Legislature, and railroad influence over officials, commissioners, and courts of the State; against the strangling grasp with which his unscrupulous agents hold the city of San Francisco while they stunt her growth and rob her of her wealth in defiance of right and law and reason.¹⁴

In Arthur McEwen's *Letter* for March 3, 1894, we find the following charge against Mr. Huntington:

By his management he has practically reduced San Francisco to a retail city—the village store of the plantation—letting other lines cut off the wholesale trade to the north and south and sacrificing

the nearer field to the Chicago invader. The one-time merchant princes of San Francisco have become shop keepers. Front and Sansone Streets, thanks to Mr. Huntington and his partners, show us the blessings of a peasant proprietary. The best of them now are but "free niggers" on the estate, doing rather well in their humble way. Much as the Southern Pacific system has done for the development of California, it is moderate to say that the State would have been twice as populous and twice as rich had her railroads been conducted for purposes of business and not of robbery.¹⁵

Nothing was too small or picayunish for the Opposition to seize upon and magnify or distort especially with reference to Mr. Huntington. In 1894 after the panic of 1893, there were a large number of unemployed men in San Francisco. A fund, said to be \$90,000, was raised by the citizens of San Francisco to provide employment for those men in the Golden Gate Park at one dollar per day. A number of the men lived so far from the Park that they were obliged to use the street cars of the line owned by the railroad company. This is referred to in the same issue of Arthur McEwen's *Letter* as follows:

For every dollar given by the charitable to the Park laborers, the deserving Mr. Huntington gets ten cents. That means \$9,000 for him, a testimonial from the benevolent on which he has to pay nothing for collection, since it is taken up by the blue-coated conductors whose wages are not affected by the increase of their labors. Such few workmen who greedily withhold the Huntington percentage by walking to and from the Park are more than made up for by the number of people who are drawn to visit the scene of their toil.

In January, 1895, T. J. Roberts, President of the American Railway Union endeavored to have a warrant sworn out for the arrest of Collis Potter Huntington and his removal

from New York to San Francisco to stand trial for issuing a pass to Frank M. Stone, an attorney-at-law, on January 4, 1894. The complaint was prepared by the attorney, George Monteith, and read as follows:

Collis P. Huntington on and about January 10, 1894, he then being President of the Southern Pacific Company, did wilfully, unlawfully and wrongfully make and give an undue and unreasonable preference to a particular person, to wit: one Frank M. Stone, residing in San Francisco; the said Huntington did, at a place to this affiant unknown, make and execute a certain instrument in writing, commonly known as a railroad pass, in words and figures following, to wit: Southern Pacific Company, Pass Frank M. Stone over lines of Southern Pacific Company, 1894, until December 31, unless otherwise ordered. [Signed] C. P. Huntington.

Roberts and his attorney took the complaint to Commissioner Heacock who refused to issue a warrant without instruction from District Attorney Knight who, he said, would take no action upon a matter of such importance without first consulting the authorities at Washington. As the complaint had been legally filed Monteith and his client withdrew, "boiling with indignation," at what they called the unlawful conduct of the District Attorney.

On March 23, 1895, it was announced that Collis Potter Huntington had been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury for issuing a pass to Frank M. Stone. Four days later it was announced that he had been indicted on a second charge, that of violating the Interstate Commerce law.

A newspaper article for April 5, stated that everybody connected with the administration of the Interstate Commerce laws was of the opinion that there was no case against

Mr. Huntington. Several judges of the Supreme Court were reported to have expressed similar opinions; they were all against the indictment.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Huntington was placed under arrest in New York, April 23, and arraigned before U. S. Commissioner Shields and represented by Frederick R. Coudert. He was taken before Judge Brown of the U. S. District Court on May 7, for a warrant for removal to California, which the Judge refused to grant. In his decision, Judge Brown said: "The application for removal must be denied on the ground that the indictment is fatally defective in not averring that any use was ever made of the pass, or that any transportation was ever made under it."¹⁶

Mr. Huntington explained that the passes given out were endorsed as a rule "Not good outside the state," and evidently Stone's pass was not so endorsed, and he took advantage of it.

U. S. District Attorney Knight refused to act in California on the ground that there was no proof that the pass had ever been used outside California; Stone had started for Oregon but had to leave the train at Red Bluff on account of the Pullman strike.

Attorney Monteith said the matter was not over by any means. "The U. S. District Attorney could *nolle prosequi* the case if he wants to, but that will not end it."

The warrant remained in the hands of U. S. Marshal Baldwin ready to be served directly Mr. Huntington came within jurisdiction; but in August all his plans were changed by wired instructions from the authorities at Washington to dismiss the case. Another effort was made in October to revive the case by filing a new complaint, but it died a-borning.¹⁷

In May 1898, when in San Francisco, Mr. Huntington was asked to appear before the Board of Railroad Commissioners for the purpose of establishing charges for the transportation of passengers and freight by the Southern Pacific Company. He attended eleven meetings of the Board between May 2 and 16 inclusive.

Newspaper accounts of some of these meetings are rather amusing. Said the *San Francisco Call* for May 5, 1898:

For three days now, Collis P. Huntington has been testifying before the Board of Railroad Commissioners. The three days have been wasted. . . . He has simply told them nothing, has played with them and made their session a spectacle suggesting comedy. He told the Commissioners almost everything they did not want to know. They wanted to know the cost and present value of the Southern Pacific Lines, and asked to be enlightened on the subject. This he was quite willing to do and said so. He accordingly told them what it cost per mile to build railways in England, France, Germany, Russia, and Australia, and added a few interesting figures concerning bonded indebtedness of all foreign lines. When reminded that while this was highly entertaining it was not exactly to the point, the witness then got down to business and told the Commissioners all about difficulties to be encountered in building a railroad through the state of New York, to which account he added a chapter for each of the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky!

When he appeared before the Commissioners on May 9, the Attorney-General requested some information regarding the original cost of the Oregon & California Railroad. Mr. Huntington was willing to tell all he knew, but all he could remember was that the road was built through a very rough country and that the work was undertaken in order that the good people of California might be benefited.

“What I want to get at is the cost to your company of this road,” persisted Attorney-General Fitzgerald.

“I don’t think I can give you a very satisfactory reply to that question,” blandly replied the witness.

“We have done so many things for the benefit of California that it is hard to remember them all. We have not helped ourselves much yet, but we hope to in time.”

Fitzgerald again attacked the list of California railroads in an effort to elicit from the witness some facts as to their cost.

“I will do all I can to assist you in finding out,” said Mr. Huntington, “but I must confess I do not see how it is to be done. I would like to know myself.”

“Now in Virginia where I have built railroads, they never ring the bell to know what I am doing. They are content to believe that I am doing all that I can under the circumstances. I hope to inspire the people of this state with the same feeling in the course of time.”

Huntington stated that about twenty of the thirty-five roads that go to make up the so-called Pacific System had been acquired at a very small cost because they had become bankrupt under the management of their original owners. Notwithstanding, he said that he thought the company should be given credit for the entire original cost besides what had been spent on them since they had been acquired by the Southern Pacific Company.¹⁸

In regard to these meetings John Bonner wrote a column for the *San Francisco Call*, May 18, 1898, of which the following are extracts:

I spent last week listening to the interrogation of Collis Potter Huntington by the Railroad Commissioners. With sly humor, the United States Supreme Court had ordered the Commission to ascer-

tain as a preliminary to fixing rates, what the railroads constituting the Southern Pacific System cost and what they are worth now; and though the Court might just as well have required the Commission to ascertain what it cost to accomplish the independence of the United States and what it is worth in dollars and cents after a century of freedom, still the Commissioners took the mandate seriously, and probed Mr. Huntington with questions which neither he nor anyone else could answer. . . .

It is silly investigations of this kind which make California such a laughing-stock in the East. The Supreme Court required the Commission to elicit from Mr. Huntington an arbitrary and definite appraisement of the various roads which constitute the Southern Pacific System and the Commissioners affected indignation when he confessed his inability to do so. The patience with which the old gentleman played the part for which he was cast in this fool play was really admirable. How a knowledge of these approximations could help the Commission to raise or lower rates of freight, it would puzzle a conjurer to determine.

The head and front of Mr. Huntington's offending is that he has made money, which is gall and wormwood to the demagogue and the impecunious. Of course he has made money. Men like Huntington and Vanderbilt always make money whatever enterprises they undertake. Shrewd, thrifty, far-sighted, indefatigable, they were certain to grow rich whether they constructed railroads, or built steamers, or dug canals, or erected rows of houses, or dealt in real estate or merchandise. Such men of course are rare, very rare.

It is quite possible that no other man but Collis P. Huntington could have constructed the Pacific Railroad in the face of the enormous difficulties of the task and the prodigious obstacles he had to overcome. Dogged resolution and indomitable perseverance are exceptional. If Mr. Huntington had not reaped a reward for labor pursued for so many years with such unremitting persistence, his case would have been a remarkable exception to the rule of life. But now as in the days of Seneca, it is the practice of the multitude to bark at eminent men, as little dogs bark at strangers.

Chapter XLVI

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



WHEN CONGRESS passed the Act of 1862 whereby aid was provided by the Government for the construction of the first transcontinental railroad by two companies, one company, the Union Pacific, received thereby its franchise. The other company, the Central Pacific, was already a working concern having received its charter from the State of California more than a year previous.¹ It had been organized April 30, 1861; incorporated June 28 of the same year; and, under the leadership of Theodore D. Judah, engineer, had caused to be made five instrumental surveys, at the cost of \$66,740, for the best possible route for a railroad across the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The company had also negotiated a charter from Nevada to build a railroad across that Territory. Other work done by the company before the Government subsidies became available is told by Mr. Huntington in a letter to Philetus Sawyer, May 1874:

The company, notwithstanding the enormous rates of exchange and the disturbances in financial and business circles caused by the war, completed and equipped thirty-one miles of its road and pur-

chased, paid for, and had received the iron, spikes, and rolling stock for sixty miles of the road without any assistance from the Government subsidies, or aid from the State, and only to a limited extent employing the bonds received from Sacramento and Placer Counties; and, in addition, expended some \$200,000 in grading beyond the completed part. Indeed, the company had completed forty-three miles of expensive mountain work before anything was received from the Government subsidies.

Daily passenger service had been inaugurated from Sacramento to Newcastle in July 1864. The first Government bonds were received May 12, 1865.

In making these contracts with the railroad companies, the Government was actuated by national necessities; chiefly a more rapid and safer means of transportation for troops, munitions of war, supplies, public stores, and the mail; and the importance of bringing the isolated West Coast into closer communication with the more thickly populated East and the seat of the Federal Government. These needs were urgent because of the war situation. A feeling prevailed throughout the country that an offer of Government aid by a loan of credit and a donation of lands to these companies would benefit the public.

In receiving these aids, the Central Pacific Company regarded the provisions required by the Government as contracts to be performed faithfully by both parties. They considered the railroad their property, owned and managed for the benefit of the public, but for their own profit, if any. Nothing in the language of the statutes conveys any other idea than this, say most of the railroad economists, lawyers, and judges who interpreted the meaning of the contract.²

The Act of 1864 amended the Act of 1862 in many particulars, principally allowing the companies own first mortgage bonds to have the first lien, the Government bonds to be subordinate, which resulted in enhancing the market value of the companies' bonds. This feature of the amendment was an important consideration at the time of the maturity of the bonds and the refunding bill.

In the same letter to Philetus Sawyer above quoted, Mr. Huntington describes the Government bonds and how they were utilized:

The U. S. bonds issued to the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California on the main line from Sacramento to Ogden amounted to \$25,885,120, and to the Western Pacific from Sacramento to San José, \$1,970,560; a total of \$27,855,680. These were the first currency bonds that were issued and they had no fixed market value. They were sold for currency and the currency, or a large part of it, was converted into gold at a high premium for use in California and Nevada. The U. S. bonds issued to the Central Pacific yielded in gold, \$19,119,552.95, and those to the Western Pacific in gold, \$1,616,053.50, the total in gold, \$20,735,606.45.

In a later letter, January 25, 1886, to the Honorable James W. Throckmorton, then Chairman of the House Committee on Pacific Railroads, Mr. Huntington comments further on these bonds:

The currency bonds were looked upon with doubt; they were transferable only by registration and the Comptroller further discriminated against them by deciding that they were not receivable as security for banking currency.

The bonds were issued at par, bore six per cent interest and were due thirty years from date of issue. They were said to be the only bonds ever issued by the Government during

or immediately after the war upon which the Government did not bear the loss.³ The value of these bonds to the company was made considerably less by the delay in delivering them when they became due, and the trouble and expense of collecting them.⁴

At the time of the Government contracts with the railroad companies, the average annual cost of Government transportation of troops, munitions of war, supplies and mails from the Atlantic to the Pacific and intermediate points amounted to over \$7,000,000, in one year reaching the enormous sum of \$18,000,000.⁵

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It was the expectation of Congress and the companies that the improved mail facilities, the increase of population to be served and protected, would keep the transportation expenses near that sum even at reduced rates. These expectations furnished the basis upon which the manner and time for repayment of the Government bonds and their interest was provided. It was considered that one-half the compensation would pay the interest, and five per cent of the net earnings would liquidate the principal before the date of maturity. Mr. Huntington expressed the opinion that when the bill was passed, neither Congress nor the company ever expected any money to be paid except the five per cent of net earnings.⁶

Soon after the completion of the road, however, it was found that these expectations would not be realized. The reasons are given by Mr. Huntington in a letter to the Honorable J. Proctor Knott, Chairman of the House Committee on Judiciary, May 15, 1876:

The fact that the earnings from Government transportation have fallen far below the interest on the subsidy bonds is the merit and not the fault of the railroad. . . . The settlement of the Indian troubles

and the consequent discontinuance of the military posts, due wholly to the existence of the railroad, have done away with much of the Government business; while the vastly cheaper rates at which freights and mail are carried have reduced the cost of what remains of the Government business to a trifling sum.

Before the railroad was completed, the Government paid from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per ton per mile and insured both freight and teams. The same freight is now carried on the railroad, insured against loss, at from one to two and a half cents per ton per mile, or about one-hundredth part of the former rates. A large part of the public transportation is withheld from the railroads and sent by sea or across a foreign territory although we are able to deliver the goods in less time in cars directly to the points of destination at about the same rates. In this way the Government is paying out money for freights by other routes, one half of which, if the business were given to the Pacific Railroads, would be applied to the payment of interest on the bonds which was provided should be paid in this manner.

The Government never paid the Pacific Railroads for carrying the mails at the rate it paid Wells Fargo, \$1,750,000 per annum, maximum weight 1,000 pounds. The Central Pacific was required to build a special car according to Government specifications, to carry eighteen tons of mail matter and two messengers all under Government control. Sometimes an extra car or two was required, yet the Government paid to both the Union Pacific and Central Pacific less than \$1,000,000 yearly for this service. The compensation for mail service was further reduced twenty per cent on all aided roads by an Act of Congress, June 30, 1877, and still further reduced five per cent by Act of Congress, June 30, 1879.⁷

The Overland Mail service for which a large compensation was paid was very unsatisfactory. The mails were greatly

delayed; thousands of pounds of mail were destroyed or left uncared for along the line; sacks of Government documents were used to fill in holes along the road.⁸

A source of profitable traffic was expected to pass over the Pacific Railroads in the commerce between Europe and the Far East, but the Suez Canal was opened in November, 1869, which offered a route for that trade. The development of the ocean freight steamer further increased competition at sea, so that much of the traffic between China and New York followed the canal route. A portion of the commerce between the United States and China crossed the continent, but a large portion was diverted from American carriers over the Canadian Pacific Line. In 1883, the completion of other lines, the Northern Pacific, the Santa Fé and the Oregon Short Line of the Union Pacific, further reduced the earnings of the Central Pacific.

The Government had been regularly paying the interest on the bonds advanced to the railroads which, with the last issue, amounted to \$1,167,341 annually. In 1870, however, when it was found that one-half of the compensation for Government services did not amount to the interest and no percentage of the earnings had been paid, the Government demanded that the aided roads pay the interest on the subsidy bonds. The two companies replied that the interest was not to be paid by them before the maturity of the bonds, except for the one-half compensation. Whereupon, the Secretary of the Treasury, disregarding the contract and the enormous savings gained by the Government through the early completion of the road, and with no consideration for the extra expense, amounting to millions of dollars, the com-

panies were incurring at that time in order to put the road in a first-class condition, withheld all Government compensation from the companies to apply to the interest.⁹

In an attempt to legalize this action of the Secretary, Congress on March 3, 1873, passed a law directing the Secretary of the Treasury to make no payments to the companies on account of Government transportation and apply the whole amount to the payment of interest. Suit was brought by the Union Pacific in the Court of Claims and the position of the company was upheld. This decision was unanimously affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1875, and the Secretary of the Treasury was instructed to pay over to the companies the half compensation withheld. This was not done, however, and by 1887, the portion for Central Pacific services retained illegally had amounted to \$2,500,000. The Government also owed the company at that time \$744,000, upon which no interest was allowed, for transportation on unaided and leased lines, despite the decision of the Supreme Court in 1885 that such withholding was illegal.¹⁰

Another controversy with the Government arose in 1870 as to when the five per cent of net earnings was to begin and what was meant by net earnings. The Secretary of the Treasury demanded that payments begin in 1869 when the two roads were united, while the railroads contended that the percentage of net earnings was not due until after the road had been accepted by the Government as a completed road (which was not done until October, 1874). By an Act of Congress, June 22, 1874, the companies were required to pay into the Treasury five per cent of all net earnings since July, 1869, and rules were given to determine net earnings.

Suits were brought to decide the matter and eventually reached the Supreme Court. Before a decision was reached, however, the Thurman Act was passed.

In June, 1873, Mr. Huntington requested Mr. Hopkins to send him a statement of all claims of the Central Pacific against the Government. Mr. Hopkins replied in an outburst of indignation, telling of the great difficulty he had had with the Government accounts. The railroad bills were sent to the Quartermaster at San Francisco who cut them up into many accounts for various departments. Payments (before all payments were suspended) were made at different times throughout the year by the departments, some not paying at all. Many times the items were so different from the account, that it was impossible to tell what was being paid. A clerk was kept at the San Francisco office and another at Sacramento expressly to attend to the Government accounts, and a Mr. Baird in Washington was frequently called upon for assistance, yet it had been impossible to avoid unsatisfactory confusion in the accounts. "If all our business over the road had been as laborious, expensive, vexatious, and as tardily paid as this Government transportation has been," wrote Mr. Hopkins, "it would not be worth while to operate the road; it could not be done successfully."

The steady accumulation of debt on the Government bonds, and the hostile attitude of Congress toward the company, gave the managers of the Central Pacific grave concern. By investing in branch lines and feeders, steamer lanes, etc., the earnings of the road from other than Government traffic had been sufficient to pay the interest on the company's first mortgage bonds, and a part of that on the subsidy bonds. A sinking fund for the company's bonds had been

created, also, which at maturity would pay off \$22,000,000 of the bonds. The managers felt that such a sinking fund for the Government bonds was essential and accordingly such a sinking fund was drafted.¹¹

As early as February 17, 1875, Mr. Huntington wrote to the Honorable B. H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, proposing that the Central Pacific Company place a certain amount semi-annually at interest as a sinking fund toward paying the amount due the Government. In his letters to Mark Hopkins at this time, Mr. Huntington mentioned the proposed sinking fund repeatedly and hopefully. On March 3, 1876, he wrote that he would soon introduce a sinking fund bill in Congress which would include a return of the Nevada and Utah land grants for which the company would be given credit at the rate of one-half the Government market price per acre. Later he wrote that the provision for returning the land grants was not acceptable to Congress, and he had prepared another plan to pay all in cash in such a manner as to sink the debt by 1905.

On April 3, 1876, Mr. Huntington wrote to Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont enclosing a plan for a sinking fund in the form of a short bill to submit to Congress. The plan included a portion of the lands belonging to the company; the unpaid sums due the company by the Government, and the amount already in the Treasury upon which no interest had been allowed, to which would be added semi-annual payments in cash, all of which with interest thereon at six per cent would suffice to cancel the Government advances by the time the last bond fell due.

In May, 1876, the company received a communication from the Honorable J. Proctor Knott, Chairman of the



COURTESY OF MR. ERLE HEATH OF THE S. P. STAFF

San Francisco After the Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906

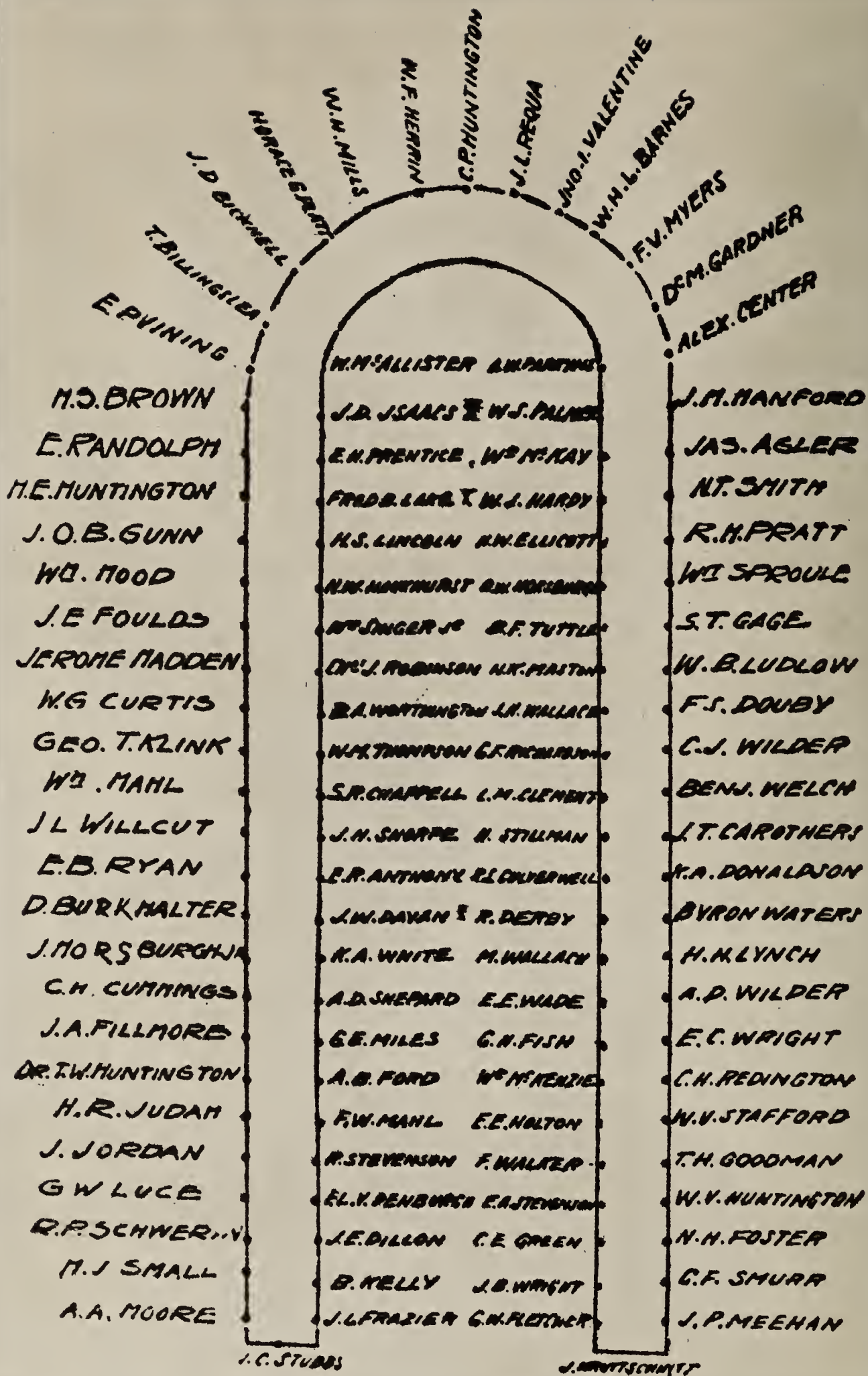


Diagram of the Huntington Banquet Table,
Giving Location and Names of All Guests, May 5, 1897

House Committee on Judiciary, requesting the company to lay before the Committee their proposition as to the creation of a sinking fund to meet the principal and interest of the bonds advanced by the Government, naming the amount the company would be willing to pay into such a fund annually in half-yearly installments. He stated also that the Committee were not disposed to consider any proposition for the return of lands that had been granted to the company.

In his reply to this letter on May 15, Mr. Huntington wrote in some detail with regard to the differences existing between the company and the Government, of the readiness of the company to keep their part of the contract, and their keen disappointment at the attitude of the Government:

. . . They [the company] entered upon the work in the confident expectation that the Government, through its constituted authorities, would in good faith, keep its part in the covenant; and they have at all times been willing and anxious to comply with their part as defined by law. They could not then foresee that in their dealings with the Government they would be placed at the mercy of successive officers of the executive departments for the interpretation of their contract, and that repeated attempts would be made to force their arbitrary decisions with all the power and resources of the nation. Nor could they reasonably expect that the same questions, after having been duly passed upon by the proper legal authorities of the Government, would again and again be raised by successive executive officers, as well as by representatives in Congress, with attempts to enforce unwarranted constructions of the compact, or set up a new one in its place, to which the company, as one of the parties, could not assent. Had they foreseen the impunity with which their rights were to be denied, or the difficulty with which their wrongs are redressed, it is not probable that they would have entered upon their laborious task with such zeal and energy, or imperiled their fortunes in so gigantic an enterprise. . . .

The company are glad to discover from your letter that the Committee recognize two sides and two parties to this question, and are willing to consider it in an impartial spirit. It is with this feeling that we submit, in reply to your communication, a copy of the bill already introduced in the Senate by Mr. Edmunds, with a copy of my letter, explanatory of the reasons which may be properly urged for its adoption, with the terms and conditions of which if it receives your sanction, we should be willing to comply.

There follows a lengthy discussion of the financial condition of the road, and suggested amounts that could be paid semi-annually by the company and the importance to the company in returning certain lands to the Government, and the desire of the company for a satisfactory and lasting arrangement with the Government. These letters and the plan did not bring the hoped-for result as a letter to Mr. Hopkins, July 13, 1876, disclosed:

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported a bill to the Senate yesterday that is infamous. I shall go to Washington to-night to do what I can to defeat it, and I think it can be done. It seems as though the members of the House and Senate thought it was necessary to do some damned infamous thing to insure their return to the places they now occupy.

On October 16, 1877, Senator Thurman of Ohio, of the Senate Judiciary Committee, introduced a bill in the Senate to amend the Acts of Congress, 1862 and 1864; the same bill that was reported from that Committee on July 12, 1876. Samuel S. Cox of New York introduced the bill in the House April 24, 1878. In spite of this bill, Mr. Huntington made one more attempt to get a funding bill through by joining with Sidney Dillon of the Union Pacific, November 12, 1877,

in transmitting another letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee with a bill embodying the provisions they considered essential to a sinking fund which would meet with their approval. This plan, too, Congress refused to consider.

Several years later all the efforts of Mr. Huntington and the companies to establish a sinking fund for the subsidy bonds were completely ignored by a Government agency¹² during an investigation in which it was charged that "the directors of the company failed to make suitable provision out of the large earnings during the profitable years of its operation to cover the impending debt." Again, "Failure to make voluntary provision for the payment of the debt to the United States was culpable." In November 1879, an article appeared in *The Nation* in which it was said:

The Company were not in a position to complain of the Thurman Act, but it is a pity that they could not have been compelled to take steps toward liquidating their debts without the passage of a statute which this conflict of opinion in the Supreme Court shows to be calculated to create a feeling of insecurity as to corporation property.

The bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Thurman, October 16, 1877, required the payment of all the charges for Government services by the railroads instead of half, five per cent of the net earnings, and such additional sums as would make an amount equal to 25 per cent of the net earnings of the railroads; this to be paid in the U. S. Treasury as a sinking fund.

The debates¹³ on this bill dealt largely with the question of the right of Congress "to alter, amend, and repeal" the contract between the Government and the companies without the consent of the companies. Senators Thurman of Ohio

and Cox of New York were of the opinion that Congress had the right "to capture, seize, even confiscate these roads." This idea was objected to by Senators Sargent of California and Morrison of Illinois who said that Congress should forbear to exercise even the right of amendment until the railroads were in default which they were not. "The ability of the roads to pay is not and cannot be disputed."

Some of the Congressmen could not resist an opportunity to attack the Central Pacific without regard to the subject under discussion, after the manner of the *San Francisco Bulletin* and reminiscent of Sam Brannan, as shown by the comments of Senator Merriman of North Carolina: "In order to obtain these immense grants of land and money and to procure the reorganization of the competing roads purchased by them, the company expended vast sums of money lobbying; and in carrying out their schemes generally they rode roughshod over the people of the Pacific Coast, using every conceivable mode of oppression."

In contrast to this explosion, General Butler of Massachusetts defended the railroads and charged that the hostility shown toward them might well be from envy. "These Pacific roads are human institutions, but the country owes them a debt of gratitude even if they should run away to-morrow with all they have received."

These few excerpts are from a debate stretching over a period of several months. A study of this debate, or any other in Congress, compels one to agree with Mr. Huntington's deep-seated conviction that a perennial need for information exists among members of Congress upon whatever subject discussed. This was corroborated quite recently, more than fifty years after Mr. Huntington's death, by ex-President

Hoover in his autobiography, *Memoirs of a Public Life*. In a chapter on his great work as Food Administrator, discussing his contacts with Congress, he writes:

I spent a vast amount of time and breath on individuals and committees in both houses, making clear the need for action and the methods we proposed. I learned that even in such an august institution as Congress, there was the same minority of malicious and dumb as in the rest of the world, and their opportunity was greater. Finally we nursed through our legislation.

Congress passed the Thurman Act May 8, 1878, and on June 10, 1878, another Act established the important office of Auditor of Railroad Accounts as a bureau of the Interior Department for the purpose of attaining a closer control over the Government aided railroads, and promoting the successful operation of the Thurman Act. About this office Mr. Huntington said:

Thurman has introduced another bill the object of which would seem to be to start another branch of the Government whose business will be to look after the Pacific Roads.

Cases were soon made in the Court of Claims and the Circuit Court to test the constitutionality of the Thurman Act. A decision was reached in the Supreme Court in the fall of 1878 by a bare majority, and the Act was declared constitutional so far as it sanctioned the right to amend the Act of 1862 and 1864. In dissenting, Justice Bradley said:

The power of Congress is not despotic but is subject to certain constitutional limitations: no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law; another, private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. . . . This law is violative of all these restrictions . . . a direct abrogation of a contract, and that, too, of the Government itself, a repudiation of its own contract.

This Act of Congress, though affirmed by the Supreme Court, was met by a storm of criticism and protest. Of course the Opposition received the news with great glee, but thoughtful men—lawyers, judges, economists, even men who disapproved the policies of the railroad, condemned this piece of legislation as unconstitutional. Perhaps the following excerpt from an article on the subject by a noted railroad journalist and economist voiced the opinions expressed by a majority of the critics:

The Thurman bill was simply a gross and unwarranted assumption of power. It assumed to constitute Congress a judicial as well as legislative tribunal in open violation of the Constitution. The Thurman bill as it stands is anarchy, revolution. It is the most fatal stab which, in this country, social order and the rights of property have yet received. The penalty for not making payment of a debt before it was due was the forfeiture of the charter of the Central Pacific although derived from the State of California! The bill said in effect: Unless you pay your debts before they are due, your charters with all rights, privileges, and property shall be taken away, involving perhaps the entire loss of their investment by the unsecured bondholders, without whose contributions the roads could not have been built, and which added an equal amount to the value of the Government security, which without such contributions might not have had the value of a dollar. Such are the Congressional ideas of fair play. Fortunately the will of Congress is not the law of the land.

[The above was written before the decision of the Supreme Court; the following after the decision became known:]

The Supreme Court holds that under the provision authorizing the amendment of the charter of the company, the Government could enforce the payment of the debt before it was due. The ink which recorded the solemn declarations of the Supreme Court in the two preceding cases that the Government could not, until it was due, enforce the payment of a debt, was hardly dry before these declara-

tions were disavowed by the very tribunal which uttered them. There now appears in this Government to be no barrier to the reckless exercise of self-will, passion, caprice, or lust of power on the part of executive or legislative departments.¹⁴

After the Thurman Act had gone into effect, payments were fully made by the Central Pacific, and when surplus net earnings remained available, dividends that had been discontinued in 1877, were resumed in 1880, and paid regularly until 1884. Section 6 of the Thurman Act specifically allowed payment of dividends after the requirements of the Act had been provided for.

It was claimed by the adherents of the Thurman Act that the sinking fund would accumulate at the rate of five per cent per annum compounded, and would at maturity produce a sum sufficient to liquify the debt. It was evident that the Supreme Court held the opinion that the sinking fund would be so managed by the Secretary of the Treasury as to do full justice to the railroad companies. All these expectations were disappointed.

To December 31, 1888, the Central Pacific had paid into the United States Treasury the sum of \$3,469,641.62. A portion of this sum had been invested in Currency Bonds against the earnest protest of the managers of the railroad companies. The bonds which the Central Pacific sold at a discount of thirty per cent, the Government had purchased at a premium of 34.21 per cent. For every \$1,000 bond for which the company received \$744.40, the Government purchased for its account paying \$1,342.10. Congress directed the investment of these railroad earnings and steadfastly refused to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to use his discretion to invest in other better securities. There were in the fund on Decem-

ber 31, 1888, in bonds \$3,021,000.00; in cash, \$48,689.06; total in the fund, \$3,069,689.06 out of the \$3,469,641.62 paid in by the company, a clear loss in ten years of \$399,952.56.¹⁵

In a letter to the Honorable James W. Throckmorton, Chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, January 25, 1886, Mr. Huntington writes on the subject: Relations of the Pacific Railroad Companies to the U. S. Government growing out of bonds advanced in aid of construction. The following is his summary of the wrongs and errors on the part of the Government, the responsibility and consequences of which should be borne by the Government and not by the companies:

1. The original oversight in the Act of 1864 in making both first and second mortgages payable in thirty years.
2. The aid promised was of far greater value than the aid received.
3. The road was built in one-half the time allowed greatly to the advantage of the Government, but to the disadvantage of the companies.
4. The saving to the Government by the presence of the railroad already amounts to more than the bonds and interest, but no allowance for this has been made in the discharge of the account.
5. Although implied that the Pacific Road should have the favor and privilege of the Government, the encouragement given other roads deprived it of a valuable part of the business.
6. The Government has sought to construe the contract always to its own advantage, but has generally been driven from its position by costly litigation.
7. In spite of Supreme Court decisions, it wrongfully withholds one-half the compensation earned, and refuses to allow for its use what it would produce in the management and control of the company.

8. It insists upon an arbitrary rate for mails and withholds Government transportation instead of giving the indebted road a preference on all its traffic.

9. It undertook in 1878 to change the terms of the original accepted contract by requiring in addition to the stipulated payments further sums to be withheld and impounded in the Treasury as a security for its debts.

10. Under the guise of preparation of the companies' debts, Congress has virtually wasted the resources of the companies by unprofitable investments.

11. Finally, the alleged right "to alter, amend, or repeal" in respect to matters of contractt has been used to an unreasonable extent to the impairment of the credit of the roads.

Chapter XLVII

UNITED STATES PACIFIC RAILWAY COMMISSION



THE THURMAN ACT of 1878, whereby the Pacific Railroad companies were required to pay into the Treasury twenty-five per cent of their net earnings, did not satisfy certain insatiable Congressmen. The question of the debt was brought up repeatedly, and about 1884 the House of Representatives passed a bill containing the measure that one of the companies should pay fifty-five per cent and the other thirty-five per cent of the net earnings annually into the sinking fund, "on some idea of what was thought to be the different capability of saving money for the benefit of creditors." This was repeated at a later session, when it came to the consideration of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the question of providing a final settlement with the companies. The plan for a long extension was brought forward to end it all. By a new contract the companies were to pay so much a year and the United States were to have a mortgage not only on the aided lines but upon everything else, all assets of every kind. If this settlement was not effected within six months, the sum to be paid out of the net earnings would be raised to forty per cent for each road. This bill failed to pass.¹

The Auditor of Railroad Accounts appointed under the Act of June 9, 1878, visited the office of the Central Pacific

Railroad Company in San Francisco in 1879, and made an exhaustive examination of the accounts, books and vouchers of the company from the date of its organization down to the date of his examination. Upon his report, the account between the company and the Government was settled and adjusted. Like examinations were made and accounts settled to December 31, 1886.² The affairs of the company, running from the first day of July 1862, had been made public annually by the reports of the President of the company to the Secretary of the Treasury which were received and accepted by the Government.

Notwithstanding these examinations and reports, a bill was introduced in Congress in 1886 authorizing an investigation of the books, accounts and methods of the railroads which have received aid from the United States, and for other purposes.

When a bill for this piece of legislation was pending, Charles F. Adams, Jr., President of the Union Pacific Company wrote to James W. Throckmorton, Chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, January 18, 1887, as follows, his sentiments being applicable to the Central Pacific except for his reference to the Government directors:

During the last fifteen years, the Union Pacific Railroad Company has been more frequently and thoroughly investigated than any other business corporation on earth, Committees of Congress have investigated its accounts; successive boards of Government directors have taken part in its management and scrutinized its every act; its books and records have been analyzed by the Department of Justice and the Court of Claims. So far as I have been able to discover there is nothing connected with its affairs or history which Congress and the country do not know or cannot learn from the printed record.

Likewise, Leland Stanford, President of the Central Pacific, made his protest:

Having received and accepted the reports of the company fully showing the conditions of its affairs up to December 31, 1886, as required by law, it is hardly in keeping with the solemn compact made between the company and Congress under the Act of 1862, that no addition to, or alteration in, or amendment to that act should be made without *having due regard for the rights of the company*—it is hardly in keeping to pass this act authorizing an investment under which we are called upon to go over and investigate transactions reported to the Government a quarter century ago.

In the debates in Congress on this bill,³ it was strongly condemned by some of the Senators. Two of the chief subjects of controversy were (1) Section 5 [afterward eliminated]: “That from July 1, 1887, shall be charged and collected from the Central Pacific Railroad Company [and other roads named] forty per cent of their annual net earnings . . . in lieu of the twenty-five per cent”; and (2) the question of basing the rate per cent upon the net earnings of the aided and unaided roads alike, despite the ruling of the courts to the contrary.

Said Senator Hoar of Massachusetts:

. . . By the forty per cent business you say, “You shall not use your money as you please as would any other debtor, you shall pay it in a sinking fund at two per cent instead of putting it at eight or ten per cent interest. . . .” On my serious responsibility, there never was a more wicked, unjust, monstrous proposition than this. Here is a railroad you said you would lend money to and they should not pay until 1897, and now you come, twelve years before when they have so managed their property that it is worth beyond all their debts, yours and every other, and you say, “Take every single dollar that you need to occupy new territory with, for improvement of the road,

to secure greater safety for passengers and property—take every dollar and strip yourself of your credit and put your money out at two per cent and lock it up for twelve years. . . .” I think this attempt to have this railroad matter settled is the most humiliating thing in some ways in the history of our legislation.⁴

Senator Wilson of Iowa:

. . . It is no hardship to the companies, no injury to them, no detriment to the public interest to provide in advance the means whereby the President may step in and save the Government from any impending harm.⁵

Senator Edmunds of Vermont:

. . . The courts overruled what the executive officers undertook to maintain that the net income was to be drawn from all the operations instead of from the aided lines that had received bonds and lands. The question is, where is the injustice in this, supposing the United States to be not the creditor but the sovereign power that had created the corporation?⁶

Senator McPherson of New Jersey:

Under the Thurman Act all of the income of these railroads is pledged in payment of the Government debt. Therefore the Government should by right be interested in the entire surplus on the branch lines.⁷

Senator Riddleberger of Virginia denounced the bill:

. . . I do not like this bill from beginning to end. I look upon it as the meanest, cheapest piece of demagoguery which was ever promulgated before a legislative body. This is a company indebted to the United States. Here it is represented and over yonder [House] it is represented, and every time we convene, we are asked to do something that reduces the value of the stock of the company, that reduces the value of the road itself, that all the time hinders and obstructs so that its ability to pay is crippled. Here, years in advance

of the falling due of any bonds, we are asked to do something toward the payment of what will be due the Government. . . . You can so continue to cripple the roads, they never will be able to pay.⁸

Wrote E. R. Coudert, a Government director of the Union Pacific, to be read in the Senate:

The great difficulty which seems to underlie the attempt at harmonizing the difference between the Government and the companies appears to proceed from a vague, ill-defined, yet discernible feeling in many quarters that no arrangement should be made unless it were more or less punitive in character.⁹

The bill was finally passed. The United States Pacific Railway Commission was appointed under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1887, entitled: "An Act authorizing an investigation of the books, accounts and methods of railroads which have received aid from the United States, and for other purposes." The Commission was composed of three members appointed by Governor Cleveland, President of the United States, at a salary of \$750.00 each per month, traveling expenses and board bills. The sum of \$100,000 was appropriated for the purpose of the investigation. The men appointed April 15, 1887, were as follows: Robert E. Pattison of Pennsylvania, Chairman, E. Ellery Anderson of New York, and David T. Littler of Illinois. The Commission selected Richard F. Stevens and William Calhoun, accountants, to examine the books; and Colonel Richard P. Morgan, engineer, with a corps of assistants, to inspect the aided roads and their branches.

The Commission was invested with the power to require the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all books, papers, contracts, agreements, and documents; to administer oaths; and might invoke the aid of any

court in the United States if necessary. The claim that such testimony or evidence may tend to incriminate the person should not excuse such witness from testifying. Of the power bestowed upon this Commission, a noted lawyer said:

The pages of the history of our race may be searched in vain to find a modern statute enacted by the legislative body of any English speaking people clothing a commission with the powers which the Act of March 3, 1887, gave to this Commission.¹⁰

Senator H. H. Riddleberger of Virginia was equally emphatic:

There is given to this Commission . . . the right to invoke the power of the court to compel the attendance of witnesses, and it says that they shall be required to testify even though their testimony may incriminate themselves. That is a ravishment of the Constitution of the United States and a violent assault upon the common law of this country.¹¹

There were fifty-eight specific subjects listed for the guidance of the Commissioners, twenty-three of which were charges that the companies had failed in their duty to the Government; nineteen related to the value of the properties, holdings of stock, salaries, and payments to influence legislation; six contained instructions to the Commission; and ten, to allegations by the companies that the Government had not acted with fairness toward them.¹²

On April 15, 1887, the Commission entered upon the duty of personally examining the directors, officers, and some of the employees of the respective railroads; and all other witnesses who in their judgment were possessed of any knowledge which could shed light upon the subject matter under investigation.¹³ The scope of the examination is shown by a

declaration of one member of the Commission to another without objection during the proceedings: "We have found it utterly impossible to be governed by the rules of evidence in conducting this examination. We take all sorts of statements, hearsay and everything else."¹⁴ The reports of the Commission show clearly the result of including this kind of testimony.

There were 252 persons called upon for their testimony, representing a great variety of occupations: governors of states and territories, mayors of cities, legislators of various assemblies, editors of newspapers, hotel proprietors, bankers, miners, brokers, merchants, etc., etc. The impression made upon the public generally—except for the Opposition—by the attitude of the Commission toward the companies they were employed to investigate was well-expressed by an editorial in a weekly journal of San Francisco:

. . . It is a great pity the Commission came here with its hand raised against everyone in the employ of the railroad company; and a still greater pity that it had reached its conclusion before it reached California. The Commission came here laboring under the impression that the railroad interests were simply a succession of infamies. It has not failed whenever it could to place every witness thought to be friendly to the railroad in a false position and by implication to throw discredit upon him. They have called into their councils the open and avowed enemies of the railroad. . . . Their course of action is proof that they came here to confirm the conviction they had already reached. . . . The Commission, individually and collectively, occupies a very singular position: it is the Judge, the Jury, the "persecutor," the Counsel, all combined, all arrayed against the railroads. The Commission comes here with all the virus that can be concentrated in one investigation.¹⁵



COURTESY OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY

Southern Pacific "Daylight" Coach Streamliner on the Coast Route



COURTESY OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY

Locomotive "C. P. Huntington" Alongside the "Daylight" Locomotive

The testimony taken by the Commission fills ten volumes and more than 5,600 pages. Only a few of the testimonies important to the Central Pacific may be mentioned here. Mr. Huntington was one of the first persons to be examined, April 28, and again among the last in September. His testimony at the time of his second appearance before the Commission covers 113 printed pages, 65 of which—over 57 per cent—are devoted to the Colton-Huntington letters in the most persistent and offensive efforts to force him to admit that he had spent money fraudulently in influencing legislation. Mr. Huntington was expected to remember every sentence and every reference read and the occasion although written ten years or more previous.

Commissioner Anderson [after reading a letter]: Do you remember writing a letter of that character?

Witness: I do not. If it is not asking too much, I would ask the object of raking up these old personal matters, since it is of no political purpose, unless it is to amuse the Commission.

Commissioner Anderson: I thought that I had answered very clearly that the object of my questions is to ascertain whether you have used money to influence legislation.

Witness: I will say here as I have said many times before, that we never have in any way whatever. I have given instructions to my people never to use any money in any immoral or illegal sense, but to bring proper influences to bear to get votes, and only proper influences.

A charge of deliberately lying was made against Mr. Huntington by the Commission:

At the examination of Mr. Huntington by the Wilson Committee in February, 1873 [following the Brannan lawsuit], he said his share of the stock held by the Contract & Finance Company

amounted to about one million dollars. Mr. Huntington must have known when testifying that his statement was not true, as Stanford has testified that each of the parties received about \$13,000,000.

In a letter to Mark Hopkins, February 17, 1873, Mr. Huntington referred to his testimony before the Wilson Committee:

I send you to-day a copy of my testimony before the Wilson Committee. I think they will ask for a roving committee to go to California. . . . You will see by the questions they are disposed to be mean. If I had known more I would have told more. You know what I have, and if it is necessary to tell them you will of course do so, but as I have never counted the stock or bonds that are my portion, I could not tell. . . .

When writing to Mr. Crocker, September 14, 1874, Mr. Huntington mentioned the fact that he had in New York 93,588 shares of stock that belonged to him and others "on this side," and that he had more stock somewhere which he would like Mr. Crocker to look into. He had written to Mr. Crocker because of Mr. Hopkins' illness.

In April 1875, he wrote Mr. Stanford that he had had an offer from a broker for one hundred shares of stock at seventy-five per cent. He thought it advisable to put a large number of shares on the market.

When before the Senate Committee in 1896, Mr. Huntington referred to this charge and reminded the Committee that Stanford's testimony was made for years subsequent when the stock had appreciated, that his testimony was correct at the time it was made. He explained also that Stanford's estimate was found later to be too high.

One of the charges brought with considerable force against the company was "the policy of paying large dividends with-

out making any provision whatever for the impending debt," which the Commission regarded as unwise, improvident and unjust to the future stockholders of the company. This charge, vigorously repeated, ignored the company's sinking fund for the stockholders of the first mortgage bonds, and Mr. Huntington's repeated efforts over a period of four years to induce Congress to agree to a similar funding bill for the Government bonds.

Much pressure was brought to bear upon the managers concerning the Contract & Finance Company that went out of existence in 1874, and the failure to produce the books of that company. The Commission charged that they had been purposely destroyed to keep them from revealing the fraudulent dealings of the managers in paying to themselves the assets of the railroad company. It was pointed out later that the accountant of the Commission, Richard F. Stevens, had sworn that the books of the Central Pacific had been correctly kept and that upon them appear *all* the transactions of the company from the beginning to the minutest detail. Hence the transactions of the company with the Contract & Finance Company were reproduced on those books. Why, then, should anyone have any interest in the destruction of the Contract & Finance Company's books?¹⁶

The Commission expressed what Mr. Huntington called "an absolutely wild and reckless estimate" of the cost of the construction of the railroad from Sacramento to Ogden, including the 47.5 miles purchased from the Union Pacific, a total distance of 737.5 miles which they claimed, a la Brannan, did not exceed \$36,000,000. That was only a fractional part of the sum named by another Government Commission appointed in 1874 to examine the roads. That Com-

mission reported that the Central Pacific Railroad was in a first class condition and had cost up to the date of completion, October 1874, \$140,805,887.30, as shown by the company's accounts.

It was brought to the attention of the Commission that in the first seven years of the railroad due to rapid construction, the Government saved in transportation charges \$47,763,178, an amount greater than the sum realized by the companies for the bonds issued to them by the United States. The saving to the close of 1896, amounted to \$139,347,741, exceeding by over \$52,000,000, the whole amount of bonds and interest to the same date, less the amount that had been repaid by the companies. The report of the Commission states that the large earnings of the companies after 1870 fully repaid them for expediting the work.

The Commissioners concerned themselves at length over certain vouchers, unnamed and unexplained, bearing the signatures of Stanford, Huntington, or Crocker; and they charged that the moneys had been used for the purpose of influencing legislation. The question was put to Mr. Huntington bluntly:

As to all the unexplained vouchers, we may assume that they were for moneys expended for imparting information to Congress, or to the Departments, or for some purpose of that character?

And Mr. Huntington blandly replied:

That I cannot say. Most of the money was expended, no doubt, to prevent Congress and the Departments from robbing us of our property.

When Stanford refused to answer questions concerning the vouchers, the Commission, "in pursuance of the powers

given to it under Section 2," presented its petition to the Circuit Court of the United States. In testifying before the Court Mr. Stanford said:

The Commission insists upon answers to questions upon subjects that are of exclusively private character and in no ways affecting the Government, and the company does not feel called upon to answer them. Questions have been propounded and a line of examination pursued manifestly prompted by disaffected and hostile parties whose aim was more the pursuit of personal enmity of a private character than the interests of the public at large. . . . I have said in my testimony and I now repeat that I have never corrupted, or attempted to corrupt, any member of the legislature, or any member of Congress, or any public official, nor have I authorized any agent to do so.

The arguments were heard by Justices Field, Lorenzo Sawyer, George M. Sabin, and Ogden Hoffman. The Court denied the application and dismissed the petition, Judge Hoffman dissenting. In rendering their decision, for once an antagonistic Government agency in conflict with the railroad company got its comeuppance. Among the "Facts in the case" were the following:

This investigation so far as questions under consideration are concerned is not for a sovereign governmental purpose, but for the purpose of further securing a private debt not yet matured already secured by contract acceptable to and accepted by the creditor at the time it was made. . . .

This examination has not only extended to the affairs of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, but it has extended to a searching investigation of the affairs of the consolidated and allied companies connected with that corporation. Their affairs have been examined into not only by the experts of the Commission but by the Commissioners themselves, and all their business relations exposed to the public and the prying curiosity of rival business competitors. . . .

They cannot be compelled to open their books and expose such other business to the inspection of the Commission. They were not prohibited from engaging in any other lawful business because of their connection with the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and they are entitled to the same protection from inquisitorial investigation as any other citizen engaged in business.

A partial summary of the opinions of the Court delivered August 29, 1887:

1. The Pacific Railway Commission is not a judicial body and possesses no judicial powers under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1887, creating it, and can determine no rights of the Government or of the corporations whose affairs it is appointed to investigate.
2. Congress cannot compel the production of private books and papers of citizens for inspection, except in the course of judicial proceedings.
3. Congress cannot empower a commission to investigate the private affairs, books, and papers of the officers and employees of corporations indebted to the Government, except so far as such officers and employees are willing to submit the same for inspection.
4. The United States have no interest in expenditures of the Central Pacific Railroad Company under vouchers which have not been charged against the Government in the accounts between them, and the Pacific Railway Commission has no power to investigate such expenditures against the will of the company.
5. The judicial department is independent of the legislative in the Federal Government and Congress cannot make the courts instruments in conducting legislative investigations.
6. The Central Pacific Railroad Company is a state corporation and not subject to Federal control.
7. The Central Pacific Railroad Company is absolute owner of the lands and bonds granted to it by the Government, having complied with the Act making the grant.

8. The relation of creditor and debtor exists between the United States and the Central Pacific Railroad Company under the act granting aid to the latter with like force and effect as if both were natural persons, the relation being private and having nothing to do with the powers of the Government as Sovereign.
9. The United States, as creditor, cannot institute a compulsory investigation into the private affairs of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, or require it to exhibit its books and papers for inspection in any other way, or to any greater extent than would be lawful in the case of private creditors and debtors.
10. The United States, as creditor, have the same remedy as a private creditor and no other to compel payment of any moneys due it from the Central Pacific Railroad Company as their debtor, or to prevent the latter from wasting its assets before the debt matures, and that remedy, if any, must be by regular judicial proceedings in due course of law; and Congress has no power to institute a roving legislative inquisition into the affairs of the company to ascertain what it has done, or is doing with its money.

Despite the repeated assertions of Mr. Huntington and Mr. Stanford that they had never paid any moneys in bribing Congressmen or legislators, the Commission reported as follows:

While there is no direct proof with specifications of time, place, or persons on which to base the assertion that actual bribery was resorted to, it is impossible to read the evidence of C. P. Huntington and Leland Stanford and the Colton letters without reaching the conclusion that very large sums of money have been improperly used in connection with legislation.

On October 11, 1887, Mr. Huntington sent to the Commission a suggestion concerning the principles of an adjustment between the Central Pacific Railroad Company and the United States:

. . . As at present advised and hoping that the Government will deal equitably with the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and having due regard to the present and supposed future earnings of the company, and recognizing at this time that the through business does not leave any or very little net earnings, and that the amount to be paid must come from the local traffic; that such business is light, the country traversed by the road is poor and no very large amount can be drawn from that source, I think the best proposition I can suggest in the interests of the Government is that the amount when ascertained be capitalized by equating the interest so as to get it all into one fixed sum, then dividing it into two hundred equal payments, one part to be paid each six months, the interest on the principal sum being reckoned at the same rate at which Government bonds could be placed in settlement of its indebtedness. But as I have said before, any proposition made at this time or until the amount of indebtedness is ascertained, must be purely speculative.

On December 1, 1887, the result of the investigation was presented to the President under the title: "Report of the Commission and the Minority Commissioner of the United States Pacific Railway Commission." The three Commissioners had been unable to agree upon the interpretation of the testimony.

The majority report, signed by Anderson and Littler, was censorious in character and renewed many of the unwarranted claims of unfair dealings by the company with the Government. The company was vindicated, however, in many particulars by evidence that was too strong to be denied, although it was conceded with evident surprise and reluctance.

As a measure for securing the payment of the Government debt, a bill was included in the majority report the salient feature of which was an extension of time as follows: Find

the value of the debt to July 1, 1888, and for this amount, the company to issue bonds at three per cent to run fifty years and to be retired by annual applications of a sinking fund, the whole to be secured by a mortgage on *all* the company's property, both the aided and unaided lines. The payments required from the company under this bill, as estimated by the Commission, are for the first ten years, \$1,726,000 per annum; for the remainder of the time, \$1,973,000 per annum.

All the unsold land held by the company was to be returned to the United States for which they were to be credited at the rate of \$1.25 per acre.

In the event of a refusal of the company to accept the provisions of the bill, the *entire net earnings* of the subsidized roads were to be applied to the sinking fund and interest account as directed by the Thurman Act.¹⁷

The minority report of Robert E. Pattison, Chairman of the Commission, was wholly condemnatory. It repeats the charges and slanders which for twenty years and more had been assailing the companies by the Opposition, and adds some of its own:

Everything the railroad companies have done has been in violation of their contract with the Government. . . . Nearly every obligation which these corporations assumed under the laws of the United States, or as common carriers, has been violated. Their management has been a national disgrace. . . . Because of the vicious methods actually pursued by the bond aided companies, the Government has been defrauded of the bulk of its advances; shippers have been taxed to the extent of over \$248,000,000, and liabilities to the amount of \$389,517,265, have been heaped upon the properties. . . .

The extension of time being unwise and impractical, there is only one course open to Congress, and that is an immediate winding up

of the affairs of all the companies enabling the Government to withdraw at once from all connection with the running of railroads or sharing in the profits of their management. There ought to be an end to the partnership between the Government and the Pacific railroads; a speedy and absolute divorce.

The only method by which this result can be reached is . . . the forfeiture of the charters. . . . Upon forfeiture, the appointment of a receiver should be applied for, to provide for the immediate settlement of the Government's debt. . . . The stockholders would have the same right to buy that others would have. In this way the Government would cut loose from all participation in railroad management. It would recover its debt and put a seal of condemnation upon the multiplied wrongs that have marked the administration of that trust.

In the next paragraph directions are given for restricting the activities of the purchasing companies; they must be limited to the business of the common carrier; forbidden to invest in bonds and securities other than railroads; forbidden to purchase any interest in competing railroads, etc. The paragraph winds up with the surprising statement:

Sale should be made upon condition that the franchises should be exercised thereafter subject to *the regulation and control of the Government*, in the public interest.¹⁸

How the Government could "cut loose from all participation in railroad management" and yet assume regulation and control of the operation of the franchises of the railroads, was not explained. Commissioner Pattison continued:

I would suggest that the Attorney-General be instructed to institute proceedings, either civil or criminal, against all persons who have rendered themselves liable through maladministration of the Central Pacific. . . .

The reports were forwarded by President Cleveland to Congress, January 17, 1888, with a special message which left no doubt as to the impression he had received from them:

. . . These reports exhibit such transactions and schemes connected with the construction of the aided roads and their management; and suggest the invention of such devices on the part of those having them in charge for the apparent purpose of defeating any chance for the Government's reimbursement, that any adjustment or plan of settlement should be predicated upon the substantial interests of the Government rather than any forbearance or generosity deserved by the railroads. . . .¹⁹

The Senate referred the matter to the Senate Select Committee²⁰ which met early in March, 1888. Various persons appeared before the Committee to discuss the measures for settlement proposed by the Commission. Among the first to appear was Commissioner Anderson whose argument in favor of his bill was later described as follows:

He has argued from the standpoint of an avaricious creditor, who worms himself into all the affairs of his debtor and, without regard to favors received in the past or justice to be done in the future, cruelly calculates how much of the blood of the debtor he may safely take in addition to the pound of flesh which the contract and the law give him.²¹

Charles F. Adams, Jr., appeared in defense of the Union Pacific, and Leland Stanford for the Central Pacific. The argument that excited the most attention, however, was that of Creed Haymond, General Solicitor of the Central Pacific System.²² He stated that his objects were three: first, to prove by the records that the Government stands in no danger of losing a cent of the principal of the debt or the 180 per cent usury, except by the action of the Government itself; second,

that the company had faithfully performed their every obligation toward the public and the United States, while the Government since 1864, had recklessly disregarded the rights of the company and failed in its every obligation; and, third, the directors challenge the United States to meet them before any judicial tribunal to account for all their actions.

Mr. Haymand's argument was delivered orally, with but little special preparation, and required three days to present. As a review of the history of the Pacific Railroad and a clear statement of their relations to the Government, it excited great interest, and was said to have dispelled many deep-seated illusions.²³

None of the plans outlined by the Commission or Mr. Huntington was accepted; nor were there any good results apparent from the investigation. The relations between the companies and the Government remained the same for another decade. An attempt was made by Congress, however, to wring a portion of the debt from the estate of Leland Stanford after his death in June, 1893. The Government brought suit for \$15,237,000 against his widow, Jane Stanford, executrix of the last will and testament of the deceased, on the ground of Stanford's alleged statutory liability. The suit advanced from the Circuit Court and the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States, January 1896. In each court the verdict given was against the Government.

Chapter XLVIII

SETTLEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT DEBT



WITH THE APPROACHING maturity of the Government bonds in mind, Mr. Huntington obtained an interview on January 23, 1890, before the Senate and House Committee on Pacific Railroads to discuss the situation. He expressed the wish to compare views with the Committee and to see if some stable arrangement could not be made by which the large indebtedness of the Central Pacific Railroad Company could be settled satisfactorily. He gave a brief history of the company, the difficulties and high costs of construction, and named the small part of the road, from Reno to San Jose upon which local earnings were realized.

He reminded the Committee that in the seven years from 1869, when the road was completed, to 1876, the time in which the company had to complete the road, the Government saved more money than the company realized on the Government bonds. While claiming no equities, the company did think that those savings should be taken into consideration in any plan for the settlement of the debt. Said he:

There is a prospect now that the principal can all be paid. It will take time, but as I was assured by President Cleveland himself, the Government does not regard time as any factor of importance so long as the debt is being liquidated. The Central Pacific can pay the principal of this debt and 1.5 per cent interest which calls, I think,

for a little over \$800,000 a year. That amount has got to be earned on less than 300 miles of road out of 884 miles upon which the Government has a lien, simply because 600 miles is through a barren and unproductive country. . . . Find the whole amount as of July 1, 1890; divide that into 250 parts, giving a bond for each part, and pay one of those bonds each six months until all is paid.

Proposals for the settlement of the debt had been a popular topic for discussion in the newspapers and among politicians for several years. As early as 1882, the Commissioners of railroads advanced a suggestion;¹ and in 1884, Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States, in his fourth annual message, reported that he had concurred with Henry M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, in advising "the funding of the debt of the several railroads under such guaranty as shall effectually secure its ultimate payment."²

In the November 8, 1885, issue of *The Star* appeared an article on paying the Government debt:

How is this Pacific Railroad debt to be repaid?

It is obvious that to attempt to collect from the roads the hundred millions or any like sum in the next twelve or fifteen years would be impossible if all parties cooperated.

If the Government were to take the road, it would have to assume the first mortgages in addition to its own debt, and what better could the Government do with it than the companies are doing? Besides there are numerous branches or feeders, to say nothing of steamship lines, which the Government has not aided and has no claim upon; these detached, the main line would be much less valuable than now.

Here is where the wisdom of financial experience comes into play. If this amount of indebtedness were cut into 150 parts, and new notes given for it with interest at two and one-half per cent (the rate at which the Government can borrow), and one such portion mature each six months, the burden could be paid in from sixty to 75 years without a dollar's loss to the Treasury.

One of the first Congressional bills on refunding was that of Frye-Davis, reported February 17, 1890. This bill provided that the Central Pacific Company should pay the debt in seventy-five years at two per cent; but recognizing the serious condition of the company the committee recommended one per cent for the first ten years, or from \$600,000 to \$650,000 a year. At the end of ten years, the company would pay \$1,400,000 a year for ten years; at the end of which, the company would be required to pay \$1,700,000 annually until final settlement was made. Because the Central Pacific was leased to the Southern Pacific, the bill provided that the United States should have a mortgage on the lease and the amount of the lease should never be less than the annual payment required of the Central Pacific.³

In his third annual message to Congress, December 9, 1891, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, called attention to the debt of the subsidized roads which he claimed amounted to the sum of \$112,512,613.06 on December 30, 1890, a part of which was approaching maturity with no adequate provision for payment. He recommended the appointment of a commission to agree upon and report a plan for dealing with the situation. "It is very difficult," he wrote, "for so large a body as the Congress to conduct the necessary negotiations and investigations."⁴ The wisdom of this observation was manifested many times during the years that followed.

From 1890 to 1898, many and varied were the bills and resolutions introduced in the Senate and House, and long and acrimonious were the debates held over the settlement of the Government debt by the Pacific Railroads.

The members in favor of a refunding bill could not agree upon the extension of time to allow and the rate per cent upon deferred payments. The time proposed varied from forty-four to one hundred twenty-five years, and the rate from one and a half to three per cent. A bill was finally reported by the Senate Committee of Pacific Railroads, March 16, 1897, which embodied features satisfactory to the companies, but this was accompanied by a minority report of one of the members, Senator Morgan, who was violently opposed to a refunding bill in any form.

Most of the bills and resolutions demanded foreclosure and Government ownership, or foreclosure and sale, with great emphasis upon the stockholders' liability. Some of the bills were fantastic. As early as October 16, 1893, Senator Morgan offered a bill "to provide for the control of Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad Companies until the debts then due and to fall due from each corporation to the United States are fully paid up." Each company was to be provided with a Board of Control composed of fifteen citizens, five of whom would be appointed by the stockholders and ten by the President each to receive a salary of \$10,000 and traveling expenses. These men were to preside over the companies until the debts were paid off!

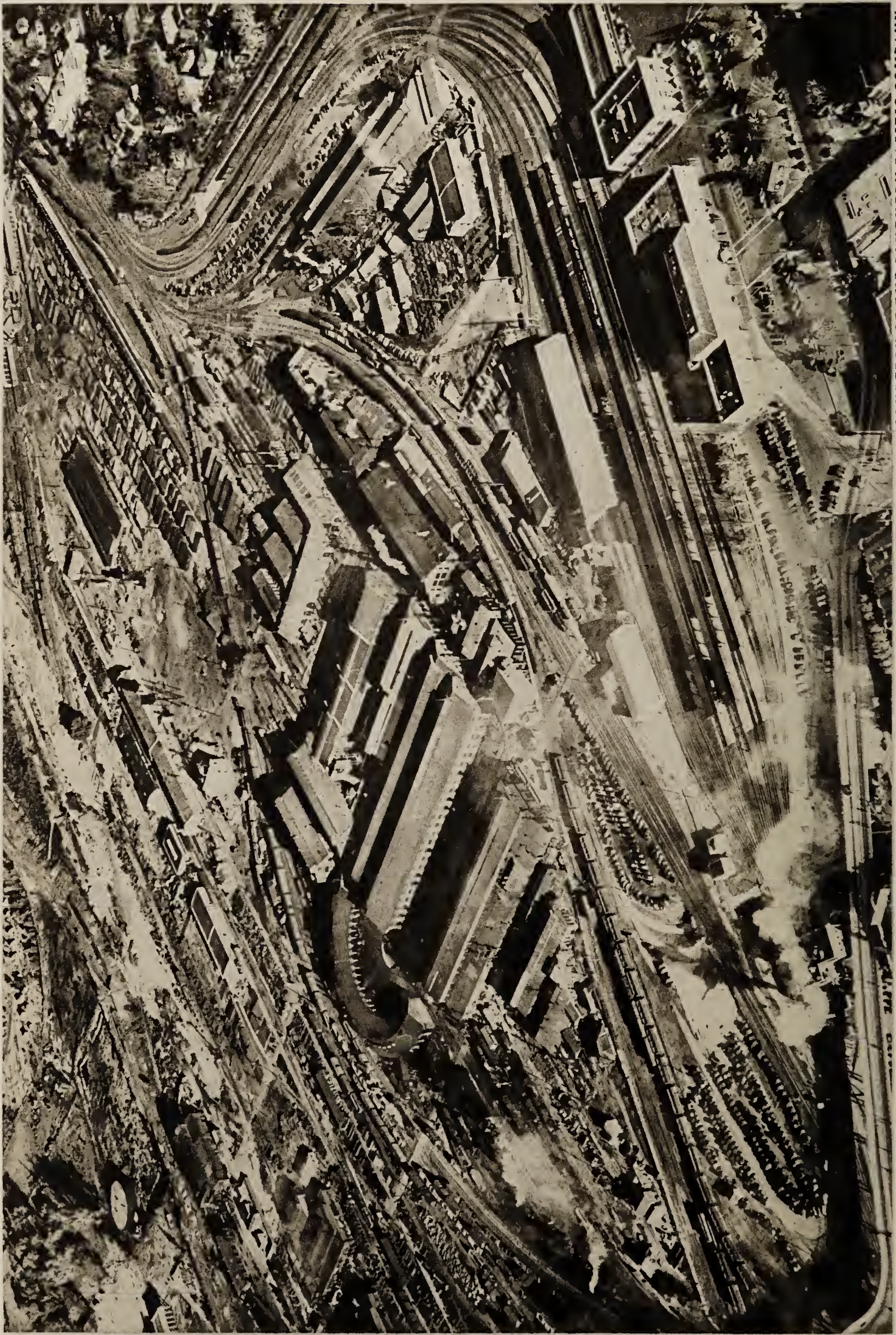
On April 28, 1894, a resolution of Richard Bland of Missouri was referred back from the Committee on Pacific Railroads for immediate consideration:

Whereas, the Central Pacific and Western Pacific Railroad Companies were chartered by the State of California and the laws of said state provide that individual stockholders shall be liable for the debts of such corporations, therefore be it Resolved: that the Attorney-General of the United States inform the House as to whether or not



Ferry Building in San Francisco, 1886

COURTESY OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY



COURTESY OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY

Sacramento Shops in 1941, Passenger Station at Lower Right

the stockholders or their successors, heirs, or assigns, are liable in any manner to the Government of the United States for reimbursement of the United States bonds issued under the Acts of Congress in aid of building said roads.

On February 11, 1895, Senator R. E. Pettigrew of South Dakota introduced a resolution in the Senate:

. . . Resolved. By the Senate and House of Representatives that the President is hereby requested to employ counsel for the purpose of bringing suits against the directors and stockholders of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads who received the stock of said railroads without paying cash for the same; also, to recover from the directors, officers, and stockholders of said roads such sums of money as were stolen by them and diverted and converted to any unlawful purpose, and therefore not placed in the sinking fund as required by law; and the President is hereby authorized to pay said attorneys five per cent of all sums recovered from said directors or stockholders.

The Attorney General is also directed to foreclose the mortgage of the Government on said roads at the earliest possible date, and to take steps to pay off the prior incumbrance on said roads [first mortgage lien], and to use the sinking fund for that purpose; to ascertain the amount of money belonging to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific that have been invested in branch lines, and the amount of stocks and bonds of other companies now the property of said roads; and to take steps to secure the amount of land now the property of said roads . . . to protect the Government interest in connection therewith. That for the purpose of carrying out these resolutions, the sum of \$100,000 is hereby appropriated. . . .

The great weaknesses of foreclosure were (1) the fact that the Government bonds were subordinate to the first mortgage bonds that had first lien, and (2) sale of the aided portion of each system would bring only a small portion of the debt. Hence, the emphasis placed upon the liability of the stockholders and directors to make up the deficiencies. (This

ignores the factor of vengeance which was evident in most of the bills.)

In addition to the bills and resolutions flooding the Senate and House, there were presented sundry memorials and petitions from private individuals, groups of individuals, state legislature, etc., chiefly from the West, against refunding and demanding foreclosure not only of the aided part of the road, but in many cases, the entire railroad system including the branch lines, terminals, even ferryboats. An avalanche of these memorials came from the Opposition in San Francisco.

Mr. Huntington was requested by the San Francisco *Call* to answer a series of questions regarding the Government debt which was published in the issue of October 19, 1895. Among the questions asked was the following: "What in your view would be a fair adjustment of the Government debt?"

I have already said that I would recommend the company to pay all it could earn beyond what is necessary to meet current expenses and the fixed charges that are ahead of the Government, that is interest, taxes, etc. The current expenses must be paid of course or else the employees of the railroad would leave their work and nothing could be earned.

If the people of this country understood the labor and privation which the builders of the Central Pacific undertook and suffered, and if they understood, also, the great amount of money that the Government saved in expense of policing the country which the road traverses, they would say that the Government had been the greater gainer; and if it got nothing, they would say that the Government builded better than it knew. Certainly I, as one of the builders, of the Central Pacific, would not do the work again for ten times the money that was made out of the venture, as the builders out of all that they had for the creation of the road, could not for years after its completion pay the debts that were incurred in the building.

The cost of Indian wars and policing the Western country for thirty-seven years before the advent of the railroad had been given as \$750,000,000 and 20,000 lives. During the years 1864 and 1865, the quartermaster's department reported having spent \$28,374,228 for military service against the Indians that were infesting the country on the line of the proposed railroads. What was the cost of the railroads compared to these expenditures?⁵

In January, 1896, the Supreme Court of the United States decided in the case of the United States vs. Jane Stanford, that the Government could not have judgment against any stockholder of the company. This was a notification to Congress that the United States could get its money only from the property upon which the bonds were loaned.

This verdict did not deter some of the members, however, from further attempts to wrest a part of the debt from Mr. Huntington whom they accused of fraudulently diverting the Government bonds for his own use.

At the request of Senator John Tyler Morgan of Alabama, Mr. Huntington appeared before the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads for the purpose of giving information concerning the Central Pacific and his views upon the settlement of the debt. These interviews occupied six days of questioning, February 17, 18, 20, 21, and March 6, 7, 1896, and when printed, covered about 300 pages.⁶

The examination was conducted almost entirely by Senator Morgan, who, apparently knew nothing about the building of the Pacific railroads from first hand information, and so based his questions upon (1) the Brannan complaint, (2) reports of the Pacific Railway Commission, and (3) Memorials from the Opposition in San Francisco. These questions were

as merciless, asinine, and offensive as an arrogant demagogue could formulate. Many times the questions were about private matters and so objectionable that other members of the Committee interposed and defended Mr. Huntington. The following excerpts are examples of the mode of questioning:

Senator Morgan. How much did you put in personally? [Building the Central Pacific Railroad.]

Mr. Huntington. I put in all that I had made in other businesses.

Senator Morgan. How much?

Mr. Huntington. I cannot say, but sufficient to make a success of the work.

Senator Morgan. That is no answer to the question, and will not be accepted as such. How much money did you put in?

Mr. Huntington. I cannot say exactly. I wish I knew.

Senator Morgan. How much money did you take out of your own pocket or bank account, and put into that construction company?

Mr. Huntington. I cannot tell. It was paid in and taken out again and again, and was loaned and paid back.

After several pages of questions about other matters he repeats:

Senator Morgan. How much money did you withdraw from the Huntington & Hopkins Company and put in the railroad?

Mr. Huntington. I will answer as I have answered five or six times before, I do not know.

Senator Morgan. You do not seem to have any recollection of anything.

Mr. Huntington. I was not there. Those things were done currently from day to day by others.

The dividends declared by the Central Pacific from 1874 to 1878, and from 1880 to 1884, were inquired into as follows:

Senator Morgan. Did you pay your debts out of the dividends you received?

Mr. Huntington. No; I think we sold the shares and paid our debts.

Senator Morgan. What was it that prevented you from funding those dividends and paying off the first and second mortgage bonds? You had ten years of ten per cent dividends.

Mr. Huntington. We had no such thing. We had dividends as high as ten per cent only one year.

Senator Morgan. Well, why did you not put whatever dividends there were into a sinking fund to exterminate the debt?

[*Mr. Huntington* told of his efforts to establish a sinking fund.]

Senator Morgan. I have sat here and heard you put that statement on record four or five different times as an excuse for your not making a sinking fund out of the dividends. The stockholders got the dividends?

Mr. Huntington. They were entitled to them.

Senator Morgan. It is impossible for me to get answers to my questions. . . . Did you create a sinking fund?

Mr. Huntington. No.

Senator Morgan. Why?

Mr. Huntington. Because Senator Thurman took it up and said he was going to create a sinking fund for the Government.

Senator Morgan. And when you found that the Government was going to change the law and require payment on the net income, then you passed a resolution to create a sinking fund?

Mr. Huntington. Not at all. It was done before Thurman's bill was passed.

Senator Morgan. Because Congress was getting after you?

Mr. Huntington. No; we were complying with every requirement of the law.

Senator Morgan. Did you receive any part of the dividends yourself?

Mr. Huntington. I did receive some money.

Senator Morgan. In the business did you receive any dividends of money in your own hands? [Repeats] Did you as an individual receive any money in your own hands for those dividends? How much?

Mr. Huntington. I do not know.

Senator Morgan. And when?

Mr. Huntington. When paid to others . . .

Senator Morgan. You are not improving your statements when you decline to give categorical answers to honest questions.

Mr. Huntington. When Senator Morgan asks me to answer questions about things that happened thirty-five years ago, I can only answer in a general way. If I could answer yes or no I would do so.

Senator Morgan. Can you now state that at any time you received into your own hands any money that came from the dividends of this Central Pacific stock?

Mr. Huntington. I will say as I have said before that I am quite sure I have.

Senator Morgan. Did you receive a large sum?

Mr. Huntington. I do not think I did.

Senator Morgan. Did you receive all that was coming to you?

Mr. Huntington. I did.

Senator Morgan. How much was coming to you? [And so on, over and over again, questions on the same subject.]

After repeatedly answering that the money received for the land had been used in the construction of the road, Mr. Huntington asked:

What was the grant for, Senator Morgan, but to build the road?

Senator Morgan. You cannot stop to argue with me, Mr. Huntington, when I am asking you a question. I shall ask you that question again and I want you to answer it. You may try to dodge as much as you please, but you must answer.

Senator Frye. Mr. Huntington has a right to answer in his own way.

Senator Morgan. But he has no right to make an argument in answering. . . . Come back to the question. What did you do with the \$8,000,000 you got for the land?

Mr. Huntington. We paid it for building the road.

After four days of such questioning, the strain of his un-failing self-control and composure against the implied charges of dishonesty, bribery, and such like, were too much even for Mr. Huntington's sturdy spirit, and he was confined to his home for several days. When he returned, the questioning continued for two days more. So far as was evident not one iota of benefit was derived from this inquisition, save perhaps a kinder feeling toward Mr. Huntington by the other members of the Committee.

Later when the Gear bill was reported out of the Committee, March 16, 1897, the Committee were taken to task by some senators for not inviting shippers and farmers along the line to testify. Senator Allen of Nebraska complained that every time he went into the Committee room "that supreme magnate of American railroads and American politics, himself the embodiment of force and corruption, was sitting there apparently a lord over the Committee, he and his lobbyists occupying all the seats in the Committee room."⁷

Both Senators Chandler and Steward defended the Committee explaining that it had never been the custom to send invitations from the Committee and that any favoritism shown in the hearings had certainly not been to Mr. Huntington and his associates as fully ninety per cent of the time had been taken up by the cross-questioning of Senator Morgan.

To accompany the Gear bill was submitted a paper entitled "Views of the Minority," by Senator Morgan of which the following are excerpts:

. . . In Justice to Congress, the evil deeds that cover this whole business like an ulcer should not be salved over with some concealment and left to eat its way. . . . The undersigned appends to this statement the testimony of Collis P. Huntington made under oath before the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads. An examination of this paper will disclose a most extraordinary condition of affairs relating to the Central and Southern Pacific railroads and other roads connected with them. . . . Attention is called to the fact that his evasions of the truth, as it is thoroughly established, are his main reliance for misleading Congress in his effort to capture the Central Pacific after it has made him and his three or four associates enormously rich, on the plea that his pride impels him to save the road from bankruptcy to which his fraudulent dealings seem to have driven it.

To this he adds thirteen instructions for revising the bill which, had they been followed would have totally changed the character of the bill.

The Central Pacific Railroad Company and its directors were not without friends during the bitter debates and petitions to enforce Government ownership as the following example will show:

. . . Do we want Government ownership of railroads? The United States can foreclose the Government lien, pay the \$27,853,000 of the first mortgage bonds on the Central Pacific, and the \$33,532,000 on the Union Pacific, total \$61,385,000, and go into active competition in the railroad business with the other Pacific railroads. One of the first results of Government ownership would be the loss of taxes to the states. In 1895 Central Pacific paid California in state, county, and municipal taxes, the sum of \$389,910. This large amount was

of great benefit toward paying the expenses of the State government. The neighboring state of Nevada, too, would lose the large sum of \$154,347.21 paid by the Central Pacific in taxes. All property owners would be required to pay an increased tax to make up the deficiency.

Should the United States foreclose its lien and sell to the highest bidder, who could bid at such a sale? Manifestly only two parties, a syndicate owning other railroads and anxious to extend their system or the present owners of the railroad. If C. P. Huntington were the bad man his detractors would have us believe, he would refuse to do anything, to promise any payment or arrange any settlement of the railroad debt to the United States. He would stand upon his contract, upon the law. He would say, "Foreclose your second mortgage; sell your equity of redemption, I will buy it at small price and thus wipe out the \$75,000,000 due the Government by the expenditure of not more than ten per cent thereof." But he does not say so; on the contrary, with an honest pride in his life, he says that he, himself, and his company have always paid a hundred cents on the dollar, and he always intends to. Hence, he is willing to assume the burden of the funding bill for his company.⁸

In 1888, a noted lawyer told how the directors could have become the absolute owners of the Central Pacific Railroad Company had they so desired:

There has been no hour from 1869 to the present in which, if the directors of this company had had the will or inclination to wreck this railroad and entirely destroy the Government's security they could not have done so. They had but to make a default in the payment of interest on the first mortgage bonds, permit foreclosure and a sale, and before Congress could have acted or made an appropriation, if the proper time had been selected for bringing such a suit, the title of the purchaser would have vested and become absolute, and the second mortgage would have been undercut.⁹

One of the questions Senator Morgan asked Mr. Huntington was, "You do not consider it necessary that the United States should wreck the Central Pacific?" To which Mr. Huntington replied:

I believe it would be the worst thing the Government could possibly do, and I would awfully hate to have the Government do it. I would rather work twenty years without a dollar than to have the Central Pacific fail in any one thing. The Central Pacific will pay a fixed sum, and any time that it fails for six months to do that, the Government can take possession without going to court or to Congress.

On the 13th of October, 1893, the Union Pacific had defaulted and had been taken over by receivers. During the latter part of 1896, proceedings were instituted by the Government to foreclose the first mortgage upon the aided parts of the main line upon which the Government held a second and subordinate lien.¹⁰

On the 1st and 2nd of November, 1897, the Union Pacific main line was sold under the decree of the United States Court for the District of Nebraska. The amount due the Government consisted of the principal of the subsidy bonds, \$27,236,512, and the accrued interest, \$31,211,711.75, total \$58,448,223.75. The bid at the sale covered the first mortgage lien and the entire claim of the Government, principal and interest.

The debt of the Kansas Pacific division of the Union Pacific on November 1, 1897, was the principal of the subsidy bonds, \$6,303,000, and the interest, \$6,626,690.33, a total of \$12,929,690.33. The sale of this railroad was postponed to February 16, 1898, when the debt was settled for the principal,

\$6,303,000. Later, the sum of \$821,897.70 was paid in "dividends for deficiency due United States." On the original loan of \$27,236,512, the United States realized the sum of \$65,573,121.45.¹¹

Steps were being considered to foreclose the Government's lien upon the Central Pacific Railroad Company, but before action was taken the Act of Congress, July 7, 1898, was passed creating a Commission consisting of Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, Cornelius N. Bliss, Secretary of the Interior, and John W. Griggs, Attorney-General, or their successors in office, with full power to settle the indebtedness of the Central Pacific to the Government, subject to the approval of the President. An appropriation of \$20,000 was made for the expenses of the Commission.¹²

The personnel of this commission was about as impartial and trustworthy as could have been found. More than six months were taken for their deliberations. They were frequently in consultation with Collis Potter Huntington and it was to this Commission that he played his trump card by bringing into the proceedings Messrs. Speyer & Company, a banking firm in New York of known integrity, who had handled for many years the securities of Mr. Huntington and his many interests.

The report of the Commission was made to the President, February 15, 1899. The settlement was to start February 1, 1899, on which date there was due the Government for subsidy bonds \$27,855,680 and for interest thereon, \$30,957,035.48, a total of \$58,812,715.48.¹³

By the agreement of settlement, the amount was funded into twenty promissory notes, dating from February 1, 1899, and payable every six months for ten years, each note being

for the sum of \$2,940,635.78 and bearing interest at three per cent per annum, payable semi-annually, and secured by the deposit of an equal amount of four per cent gold bonds issued later by the Central Pacific Company. These bonds were secured by a mortgage upon all the railroads, equipment and terminals owned by the company and were further secured by the backing of the Southern Pacific Company.

The agreement provided that after the delivery to the United States of the twenty promissory notes, Speyer & Company, who were a party to the agreement, should procure from the Secretary of the Treasury, the four earliest maturing notes and pay to the United States their face value, \$11,762,543.12, with accrued interest to the date of payment. The agreement further provided that Speyer & Company, until the delivery of the refunding bonds as collateral, was entitled to share pro rata with the Government in the lien, and all proceeds of the lien, in favor of the United States to secure the indebtedness.

The execution of the agreement was duly authorized by the Board of Directors of the Central Pacific Railroad Company and approved by a large majority of the stockholders. The report closed by saying, "The Commissioners have not found it necessary to expend any part of the \$20,000 appropriated for the expenses of the Commission."

After approval by the President, the report was forwarded to Congress who, on February 20, 1899, referred it to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

The Government's original loan to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific amounted to \$55,092,192, and for this sum, the Government collected \$124,421,608 or more than 225 per cent.¹⁴

After the settlement of agreement had been reached by the Commission, approved by the President, and duly recorded, the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and the consolidated Western Pacific, underwent a reorganization and was given a new name, the Central Pacific Railway Company. As a result of the participation of the Southern Pacific Company in offering the additional guaranty of the new bonds issued by the reorganized company, the two railroads became more closely affiliated and some years later were consolidated.¹⁵ As long as Mr. Huntington lived, however, the Central Pacific retained its identity.

In a column of "Select problems for historical interpretation" written for college students,¹⁶ a chapter is devoted to the transactions between the Pacific Railroads and the Government, and the result of an examination of thirty-seven textbooks of American history which deal with the subject. The authors' analysis of the treatment of the subject by these texts is interesting.

They found in all of the texts a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the Government's financial aid in railroad building. This was shown in their treatment of the subsidy bonds extended to "six of the companies" chartered to build the pioneer Pacific railroads. The authors expose the fallacy of this idea of importance by a summary of the transaction: "The Government made a loan of its bonds to these railroads in the total amount of \$64,623,512 at six per cent interest; and in the final settlement in 1898 and 1899, collected \$63,023,512 of the principal, and \$104,722,978 interest; a total repayment of \$167,746,490 on an initial loan of \$64,623,512."¹⁷ A college instructor is quoted as saying that this was a brilliant financial outcome for the Government,¹⁸ yet none of this appears in the texts examined.

Thirty-four of the thirty-seven texts examined mention the bond aid to the Pacific roads. In one-third of the works it is not made clear whether the bonds were a loan or a gift; three describe them definitely as gifts which they were not; twenty-one say they were loans, but only four mention the fact that the loan was repaid; while three make the positively erroneous statement that the loans were never repaid.

During the years following the junction of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads in 1869, when the Government began agitation for the debt twenty-five and more years before it was due, and the imposition of the iniquitous Thurman Act changing the contract that the Government itself had made with the company; on to the Act of 1887 and the useless and unjust investigation that followed—during these years the Government had been expending, without any return whatsoever, \$52,000,000 for the improvement of navigation on the Mississippi River and its tributaries.¹⁹

Here on the one hand was a loan of currency bonds for \$27,855,680 from which the Central Pacific Company derived not over seventy-five per cent value, and upon which they were required to pay six per cent interest, a total amount of \$58,812,716, not counting the millions previously paid into the United States Treasury through the original contract and the Thurman bill; and years before the debt was due, were mercilessly hounded, the contract changed, accusations of fraud and robbery brought against them when there had been no dereliction of duty or failure in observance of any contract imposed upon them.

On the other hand, the Government had paid out 52 millions of dollars—more than both companies realized on their 55 millions—for aid in promoting river transportation which

was of comparatively small use to the Government and upon which no tax was charged. The Pacific railroads, on the contrary, were of incalculable value to the Government in direct transportation of troops, supplies, and mail at one-fifth the former cost and less than one-fifth of the time; putting an end to the Indian wars that had been so costly in money and lives; aiding in the settlement of the West by immigration, and in innumerable other ways.

The favoritism shown toward inland waterways by the United States has continued to the present day. In the year 1950 it was announced that the Federal Government had spent at least three billion dollars on waterways and navigation thereon, and maintained more than 27,000 miles of improved navigable inland waterways, not including the Great Lakes. More than one billion dollars was spent on the Mississippi alone.²⁰

The Secretary of Commerce, Charles Sawyer, reporting upon a survey of the nation's transportation system in 1950 said that the Federal Government's spending on roads, airports, airways, rivers, harbors, etc., was approaching one and a half billion dollars a year. By contrast, the only money spent on railroads was for regulation which merely succeeded in hampering them.

Had Jefferson's plan²¹ for a national system of transportation at Federal expense, as outlined by his Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, in 1808, been established, the different modes of transportation would probably have rested upon an equal basis of law, and the tyrannical treatment to which the Pacific Railroad Companies were subjected could not have taken place.

Chapter XLIX

“WILDLY THROWING WORDS INTO THE AIR”



AFTER MR. HUNTINGTON had outlined a tentative plan for a refunding bill when before the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads in January 1890, and Congress began to discuss the situation, petitions, memorials and resolutions against such refunding were poured in on Congress from the Opposition in San Francisco and from others whom they could influence.

One of the first memorials came from the Legislature in Nevada, April 3, 1893, and was strongly in favor of the refunding bill. The Senators and representatives from California were urged to support the bill for the reason that Government ownership of the properties would exempt them from taxation. The railroad company had been “a heavy tax payer,” and had paid into the State and local treasuries “a very large portion of the money necessary to support the State, county and other local governments,” and the withdrawal of the properties from company ownership and vesting the title in the Government would exempt them from taxation and “seriously embarrass the Government of Nevada and threaten its political existence.”¹

The appeals sent from San Francisco during the years 1894 to 1898, protested against a refunding bill, demanded

foreclosure and emphasized the expediency of forcing “the grasping monopolists who have built up towering fortunes through corrupt practices” to pay the Government debt.

One of the first memorials, dated May 25, 1894, had the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, Collis P. Huntington is now in Washington to secure passage of a funding bill by fair or foul means, by bribery and corruption; Whereas, Under the laws of California, individual stockholders . . . are personally liable; Whereas . . . the fortune of Collis P. Huntington and those of the Hopkins, Crocker, and Stanford estates, can be made liable for the indebtedness; Therefore be it Resolved . . . that we denounce the bill pending in Congress against refunding the claim of the United States upon the Central Pacific Railroad Company for \$77,000,000.

Copies of this memorial were distributed “With the compliments of Mayor-elect Sutro of San Francisco, California.” On the 3rd of November, Sutro issued a number of telegrams containing the following political advice:

Vote for Adolph Sutro for mayor—The Octopus must be destroyed! There should be but one issue before the people at the coming election and that is vote for no candidate who is not first, last, and all the time opposed to the iniquitous rule of the Southern Pacific Company of Kentucky. Let the day of election sound its death knell with all its hirelings and flunkeys. Let us appeal again and again to Congress and show that the very foundations of this great Republic are being undermined by the aggression of these monstrous corporations.²

On June 19, 1894, a mass meeting of the citizens of San Francisco was held at the Metropolitan Temple under the auspices of the San Francisco *Examiner*, to protest against refunding the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad Company to the Government. “A Committee of Fifty” were appointed

who, under the leadership of Adolph Sutro, adopted an arraignment of the company which, as one writer has said, was almost inarticulate in its denunciation. Many of the charges were composed of generalities without specifications of time, place, or persons involved on which to base the accusations, and entirely without proof. A few are quoted as follows:

Debasing pressure exerted upon every form of industry—unprincipled use of money and of purchased intellect—checked our progress and reduced us to virtual slavery—no call in this for offensive personalities[!]¹—seduced many prominent men—controlled legislation, executive action, and the administration of justice—discriminated in freights and fares at every station—built up or destroyed business as it pleased—positively ruined thousands of our citizens—net accumulations probably amount to 200 millions of dollars which mainly represents rapacity and fraud—the ally of every rebellious or contumacious element in the community—rottenness, uncertainty, treachery, and utter disregard for every sound principle and substantial interest have been developed by this monopoly until the necessity to call a halt has become imperative.

Adolph Sutro³ proved to be a rabid and voluble leader of the Opposition in San Francisco. He had a grievance against Mr. Huntington of some years standing and he seized this opportunity for vengeance. The cause of his grievance is told by Mr. Huntington when before the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads in February 1896. When questioned about the memorial of January 18, 1896, he said:

There is nothing in all that one-half as earnest as Adolph Sutro was when he told me that if I did not build a road to his place [Sutro Heights] where he had a drinking saloon, a bath house, a gambling house, and rooms upstairs, and build at once, he would fight me in Washington and fight me everywhere else.

As Mr. Huntington did not build the road, Sutro had to go to the expense of building his own railroad, hence his deep resentment. When Senator Morgan read the rest of the names signed to the memorial, Mr. Huntington remarked: "As uncanny a crowd as a farmer ever found by his henroost at night. All these charges emanate from the same parties."

An interesting estimate of Mayor Sutro was given in a lecture on "The Press" delivered in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol, by a long time resident of San Francisco, February 28, 1895:

. . . Another thing the daily press of San Francisco has done. It has given to that city Adolph Sutro for mayor, who is known as the chief of social, business and political fakirs, a man who thought so little of the city of which he owned one-tenth of the land, that he did not become a voter until in scant time to enable him to be elected to a political office. He is a gift of the daily press and he, like they, is always howling against what he and they call the "Octopus. . . ." For more than one reason, I say and proclaim that Mayor Sutro is unfitted to receive any delegation of people coming from abroad into California, and particularly into the Metropolitan area.⁴

Sutro was determined that no action on his part should be lacking in the efforts to defeat the funding bill. He issued thousands of broadsides to members of the Congress, to members of the Legislature of California and other Legislatures of Western States, and to the mayors of cities and towns of California. An example follows:

Eighty millions to be saddled on the impoverished, enslaved, and cowed people of the Pacific Coast who are thereby to be ground in the dust for centuries to come. No legislation is required. Let the law take its natural course. As the mortgage on the railroad falls due, default should be had, foreclosure should take place, and the roads sold to the highest bidder. Eternal vigilance is needed at this hour.

The broadsides and other propaganda sent to members of Congress were enclosed in envelopes having red-lettered slogans across the top as follows:

The People of Kentucky Disgraced!
Oh! What a Hog!
California Appeal. The Octopus.
99 out of 100 Against the Funding Bill.
Terrorism by the Southern Pacific of Kentucky.
Bribery & Corruption Wherever Huntington Appears!
Huntington's Tricks.
Huntington Tries to Tamper with Associated Press.
Huntington Thinks Congressmen Are Hungry.
Pacific Railroad Funding Bill Must Be Defeated.
Etc., etc. 84 of these envelopes are yet available.⁵

On June 29, 1894, Sutro addressed the following letter to President Grover Cleveland on the subject:

History will record you as the greatest benefactor of the American people if you will recommend by special message to Congress the foreclosure of the mortgages on the Pacific Railroads, paying off the existing incumbrances, purchasing the roads at foreclosure sale, and falling back on the personal liability of the stockholders for deficiencies. . . . Hold them as a great national highway for the American people. . . . Let out Government transportation to the highest bidder and money enough will be made to pay the interest on the outlay, besides giving low freights and fares, and the incalculable benefits resulting from the ridding the people of the corruption, the bribery, the enslavement, the evil influences of these giant corrupt and criminal corporations and furnishing the Pacific Coast by one master stroke with not one but half-a-dozen competing railroads.

Cleveland's response to this letter and the advice contained therein is not available.

Early in 1896, Sutro addressed an appeal to the people of Kentucky, to the Legislature and to the Governor for a repeal

of the charter which that state had granted to the Southern Pacific Company, and which had been brought to California to rule over its people in an outrageous manner. Sutro besought the people of Kentucky to crush out of existence the “horrible monster which is devouring our substance and debauching our people, and by its criminal methods every day grasps us more firmly in its deadly tentacles.”

On January 24, following this appeal, Mayo Sutro had a telegram from Kentucky which told of a movement in the Legislature of that State looking to the amendment of the charter of the Southern Pacific Company. *The Call* of January 25, describes what proved to be a premature jubilation of Mayor Sutro upon receiving the telegram:

Mayor Sutro was yesterday as blithe and lighthearted as a boy on a holiday. In his Montgomery Street Office, he swung in his revolving chair, clapped his hand upon his leg and laughed. “The funding bill is doomed. Kentucky rises in defense of her good name, she strikes a telling blow. Huntington is on the run. The fight is in such hands there,” said the Mayor, “we need give ourselves no further worry about it. If the Kentucky Legislature takes away the company’s charter, it will leave the whole rotten corporation hanging in the air. . . . I consider this the severest blow that has been struck in this battle. I believe the funding bill is dead, that this kills it. . . . Kentucky is the proudest state in the Union. This is the state the Central Pacific schemers entered and secured by fraud the protection of its name to cover up their plans.”

When the verdict of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *U. S. vs. Jane Stanford* was announced in January 1896, by which the liability of the stockholders became a dead letter, Sutro gave expression to the following blast:

Let one shout go up from all the throats of the people on the Pacific Coast, and grow in volume till it will reverberate from the

Pacific to the Atlantic shores—Defeat the funding bill! Let resolutions go forth to Congress which cannot be misunderstood. It is the President's duty to require the Attorney-General to commence foreclosure proceedings and thereunder let these roads be sold to the highest bidder.

The Anti-funding Convention held at the Metropolitan Temple in San Francisco, January 18, 1896, framed a memorial to Congress in which are found three illegal measures recommended in connection with the Central Pacific and the Government debt.

First, it states that a foreclosure suit is the only way of securing the whole road, its branches and leased roads, and all its appurtenances. To operate, it must have terminal grounds, ferryboats where necessary, bridges, rolling stock, and like instrumentalities.

Second, in a suit for foreclosure, the withdrawn assets can be restored wherever and in whatever form they may exist. It is possessed of assets of enormous value, collectable claims against its former directors for moneys and credits misappropriated by them amounting to many millions of dollars. These should be called in and applied to the debt and sinking fund.

Third, that in order to consider all these questions, Congress has, in effect, to exercise both Executive and Judicial powers and virtually to usurp the functions of the two coordinate departments of the Government.

A fourth illegal measure might be added to these when we consider the recommendation in regard to the Southern Pacific Company upon which Congress had no claim except for land grants. Congress was entreated to pass no act which would continue the iniquitous Southern Pacific Company. "Deprived of the management and power to plunder the

Central Pacific road, it can hardly fail to go to pieces and relax its grasp on the vitals of our State." Try to imagine the lasting effects on California had the Southern Pacific Company "gone to pieces" at that time.

At the San Francisco meeting of December 7, 1895, which produced the petition entitled "California's Remonstrance," the Southern Pacific Railroad Company was severely censured because it did not build the track across the Coast Range, but extended it south from Goshen, the southern end of the Central Pacific Line:

They have broken faith with Congress and the public by soliciting and accepting a land grant as a consideration for building the Southern Pacific Railroad, and in having borrowed \$32,000,000 for that purpose, yet they have left a gap of one hundred miles unbuilt and have even renounced the building of it.

No mention is made of the fact that the company even then was extending a branch of the Southern Pacific along the West Coast toward Los Angeles, thereby opening up that part of the State for settlement, which was of immeasurably greater value to the State than the one hundred miles of railroad through an unproductive mountainous region.

Mr. Marion Cannon, one of the signers of the various San Francisco Memorials, appeared before the Committee on Pacific Railroads in 1894 and made a speech from which are given the following excerpts:

I cannot use language strong enough to show my contempt for those men and their equities. Our answer to these multi-millionaire paupers is, "Pay your debts or retire from business."

I suggest the following line of action by Congress: Foreclosure on the Government lien; take the management out of the hands of the corrupt and dishonest men who have wrecked the Central Pacific;

bring suit to restore to the Central Pacific the leases of the branch lines including the Southern Pacific; push these suits against all estates and individuals to whom any portion of said assets and property can be traced without fear, favor, or affection. The Central Pacific in the hands of the Government, with all its branch lines in California under its control, is a magnificent property and in a few years would command such a price on the market that the debt would be secured.⁶

Mr. Cannon did not explain how "corrupt and dishonest men" could so construct a railroad system and "wreck" it, that it could become under Government control, "a magnificent property."

The petition of January 18, 1896, stated that the great bulk of the Central Pacific stock was held in England, that it was sold to English purchasers between 1875 and 1890 by the device of paying large dividends.⁷ The reports of the mass meetings of the Opposition in San Francisco and the clamor against refunding the debt that appeared in the San Francisco newspapers disturbed the foreign stockholders to such an extent that a representative, Sir Rivers Wilson, was dispatched to America to get first hand information. Upon his return to England, an editorial appeared in the *London Economist*, March 23, 1895, on the subject:

. . . The Central Pacific is at present in the grasp of the Southern Pacific which is virtually Mr. Huntington. It would have remained a profitable undertaking if the present lessees had not worked its ruin. In the future probably it can best be worked in connection with the Southern Pacific. . . . They [the shareholders] must remember they have no claim to anything save that which is given by the strict letter of the law. If they have been swindled by the "bosses" in control of the company, which is often alleged, not only have many others suffered in the same way, but few have been guilty of

so much contributory negligence. . . . The American Government does not, we think, want to foreclose . . . and will come to some fair arrangement despite the hostile position it has assumed.

Mr. Huntington's reply was published in the *Economist*, April 20, 1895:

Some one has sent me a clipping from your issue of March 23. The *Economist* has been sent to me occasionally for years, and I have heretofore considered it one of the best financial papers published in England. That being so, I do not think its editor would knowingly do any individual or corporation wrong.

I was the principal factor in building the Central Pacific road; that is, I organized the company and sold the securities. I intended to deal fairly with all the people having dealings with the company, and I believe I have done so. . . . If anybody has any charge to make of any particular thing that I have done that was unfair, I would like to have him tell me what it is. No one up to this time has told me or intimated that there was any particular charge; but in a general way some of the California newspapers and some of the discharged employees have been wildly throwing words in the air to the effect that something had been done some where or at some time, but they did not state where or how.

The Central Pacific should have cost twice as much to build as any other road, as the physical obstructions to overcome were much greater and the cost of construction much heavier. . . . Still the Northern Pacific is in the hands of a receiver, I believe for the second time; the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe is in the hands of receivers for the second time; and the Texas and Pacific, I think, has been in the hands of receivers three times; whilst the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific, I believe, have paid all their debts, and I have no doubt will be able to do so in the future with the exception of the debt owing to the Government for which it is hoped that Congress will grant an extension at a low rate of interest such as the company can meet and still pay something to the shareholders.

Despite the innumerable broadsides and telegrams to members of Congress and various state Legislatures; the letters to the President of the United States and the State Legislature of Kentucky, offering advice, suggestions, even demands as to the action to be taken in connection with the railroad bill; and the appointment of three agents, June 19, 1894, "to proceed to Washington to protect the interests of the people against the aggressions of the Central Pacific Railroad Company," Sutro was rabidly censorious concerning Mr. Huntington's presence in Washington and that of the Central Pacific agent, John Boyd, and issued a number of broadsides and telegrams on the subject of which the following are examples:

"A suggestion to Congress: Huntington the King of the Lobby is holding court again in Washington."

"A huge sack is now in Washington to push the funding bill."

"The man whose portrait adorns this page, chief lobbyist of C. P. Huntington." [Portrait of John Boyd on the first page of a scurrilous pamphlet.]

"John Boyd, head manipulator of C. P. Huntington, self-confessed briber and corruptionist, seen daily moving around among senators and representatives, trying to convince them, substantially that it is right to pass a refunding bill for the Pacific Railroad debts. Lobbyist for twenty-five years. Why not expel such a creature from the House?"

"Chief lobbyist of C. P. Huntington. This man should be debarred the privilege of lobbying in the Capital of the nation while Congress is in session, so notorious are the man's relations with C. P. Huntington."

In addition to the flood of petitions and memorials of the Opposition that poured upon Congress (of which the above selections are only a small part) and the daily tirade of the newspapers, the Legislatures, Chambers of Commerce, groups of citizens, and the newspapers of other states had been influenced to issue their protests although in most cases the borders of their states were not touched by the railroads in question.

In *The Call* for May 9, 1896, in the midst of all the bitter attacks, caricatures and abuse, charges of corruption and fraud, and continuous efforts toward Government foreclosure of the railroad, a letter from Mr. Huntington was published having a somewhat plaintive note:

. . . I think the people of California will do almost anything to force the Pacific railroads into the hands of the Government, thinking that the Government will be induced to operate them for the benefit of California, as many claim that she has never received what she is entitled to from the Federal Government, and that it would be nothing more than fair to have the Government own and run the Pacific railroads largely in the interest of their State. So believing, I have no doubt they would do almost anything to bring about such a result.

The editor of *The Examiner* under whose auspices the "monster mass meeting" of June 19, 1896, was held, also had a grievance against Collis Potter Huntington. According to *The Wasp* for March 28, 1896, *The Examiner* was receiving a subsidy from the Southern Pacific Company of \$1,000 per month for thirty months to cover two sessions of the California Legislature for which he had received \$22,000; but when Mr. Huntington became the President of the Southern Pacific, he charged that journal with blackmail and stopped

the payments.⁸ When Mr. Huntington's plan for a funding bill was being considered by the Committee on Pacific Railroads, therefore, *The Examiner* considered it a special opportunity for inflicting vengeance.

To aid *The Examiner* in its nefarious intent, Ambrose Bierce, the journalist, was sent to Washington in January, 1896, to fight the funding bill, to promote foreclosure of the Central Pacific, and to energize Congress into enforcing payment of the debt from Huntington's private means.

Bierce had become notorious in San Francisco for his fierce and witty articles in *The Wasp* and *The Argonaut* and his column "Prattle" in the Sunday *Examiner*, which was said to be the "most wickedly clever and audaciously personal" column ever written. Opinions about these writings differed, however, as shown by a letter to the editor of *The Argonaut*, October 13, 1890:

Mr. Ambrose Bierce is a writer on the San Francisco *Examiner*. It is possible that such a charge may not be an arraignment in itself but, I understand, it is generally thought this person is, beside being a writer in that journal, one of the most scurrilous and disgusting libellers in San Francisco. . . . The paragraphs from his pen published as "Prattle" in the Sunday issues of *The Examiner* are alternately made up of filth and gross libel, or rather a mixture of the two composes the whole.⁹

When the announcement was made that Ambrose Bierce was appointed to go to Washington to fight the funding bill for *The Examiner*, the other Opposition newspapers of San Francisco were jubilant. Said *The Call*, January 26, 1896:

That this brilliant writer will rattle the dry bones of Washington with vigor and originality is easily foreseen in California. . . . In invective, satire, ridicule, humor or serious argument, he is a master

. . . and he will throw into the struggle the whole force of his talent. Many a Washington back will bleed under the lash which he knows so well how to wield. Homer Davenport is to illustrate his writings and these two will make such a team in satire, wit, ridicule, caricature and humor as this country has seldom seen.

By his writings, Bierce had acquired the cognomen of "Bitter Bierce," and the subtitle to one of his biographies, "the wickedest man in San Francisco";¹⁰ while a well-known novelist referred to him as having "the most brutal imagination in the English speaking race."¹¹ The Honorable Franklin Lane referred to him as "A hideous monster, so like a mixture of dragon, lizard, bat, and snake as to be unnameable."¹²

There could not have been found a person that suited the purpose better, for Ambrose Bierce too had a grievance against Mr. Huntington of years standing and here was a golden opportunity to wreak vengeance. One of his biographers¹³ tells us that during the 1870's, when returning from a trip to the Dakotas, he became imbued with the idea of becoming the Publicity Director and Colonizing Agent for the Central Pacific Railroad Company. Upon his return, he went to Leland Stanford who approved the plan and promised to lay the matter before Mr. Huntington who, he said, made the decisions in such cases.

When the time had come for Bierce to learn the decision, he went to the office of the company at 4th and Townsend Streets and was shown into a room to wait. From the next room, he overheard Stanford say, "This man Bierce is a smart writer; he may be just the man we want." "Forget it, Governor," said Huntington, "we don't want a scribbler. This fellow is uncontrollable." Bierce did not wait for the interview, but left immediately.

The writer claims that much of Bierce's bitterness toward life was caused by this failure to acquire through this position the economic independence for himself and his family that would give him the leisure to create a noteworthy literature. This disappointment developed a bitter hatred of Mr. Huntington and all his interests and furnished a strong motive for revenge. According to the biographer, Bierce was so jealous of his sole right to wreak vengeance upon Huntington and his crowd that he disliked anyone who attempted to aid him in the matter, especially Adolph Sutro for his active propaganda against the funding bill. This biographer was honest enough to say that in fighting Mr. Huntington, Bierce was attacking a man for imaginary misdeeds but in this attack he made literature.

For years Bierce had opposed the Central Pacific Company at every opportunity. Much of his animus against *The Argonaut* was based upon that journal's support of Stanford and Huntington. The latter was greeted weekly with a blast in invective and sarcasm in *The Wasp* aided by the cartoonist, G. Frederick Ketter, and a young artist named Henry Barkhaus who became one of the most effective cartoonists on the Pacific Coast.¹⁴

An attack on a journal that printed an editorial in favor of the railroad shows Bierce's method of treating an adversary and his style of writing:

Now, therefore, do I entreat the High Heaven that the editor be delivered over utterly to Satan; that he be spitted on a spit; embrowned to the complexion of a nut; and thereafter erected upon his head till his shoes fill with his own gravy; that his minor entrail be rudely dekinked and its complexities raveled to a rectilinear

simplicity; that his whole immortal part be everlastingly affected with an incalculable multitude of shrewd and serious pangs. . . . May his eternity be unsweetened by the memory of a dishonest dollar.

Almost every week from the time of his arrival in Washington to June of that year an article or telegram sent by Bierce appeared in *The Examiner*. These were accompanied by the most exaggerated and scurrilous cartoons imaginable by Davenport and Swinnerton in ridicule of Mr. Huntington. In *The Call* there appeared caricatures of Mr. Huntington signed "R.K.C." illustrating censorious and abusive articles.

When the newspapers of San Francisco printed cartoons of Oscar Wilde upon that gentleman's visit there in 1882, he gave expression to an observation which is particularly appropriate to the cartoons of Mr. Huntington: "Caricature is the tribute which mediocrity pays to genius."¹⁵

Mr. Bierce began in Washington his work of blasting the funding bill out of existence by an attack on Mr. Huntington intended to be witty:

Mr. Huntington is not in my judgment an honest man. . . . He is not altogether bad; though severe, he is merciful; he tempers invective with falsehood. He says ugly things of his enemy, but he has the tenderness to be careful that they are mostly lies. . . . Doubtless Mr. Huntington's rancor, blown about in space as a pestilential vapor, will outlive all things that be. It is his immortal part.¹⁶

An example of Bierce's attitude toward Congress and the false basis of his plea for foreclosure is shown in the following:

One of the rather surprising features of the campaign is the unwillingness of the average legislator to admit testimony bearing upon the moral phases of the controversy. It ought to be quite plain that those who unrighteously possessed themselves of \$60,000,000 thirty years ago, and who have never given up one cent of either principal

or interest have no claim upon which to base a demand for an extension that would continue the outrageous condition for a hundred years to come. We, therefore, plead with Congress—we who have been illegally robbed—to foreclose the mortgage and give us a Government railroad from Omaha to San Francisco.¹⁷

Here Bierce charges Mr. Huntington and his associates with having “unrighteously possessed themselves of \$60,000,000 thirty years ago.” This would take the company back to the year 1866 when the Summit tunnel was being made through almost impenetrable rock, with snow so deep and hard that much of the work was carried on beneath it. To the end of that year Government bonds had been received to the amount of \$3,962,000.¹⁸ The company’s first mortgage bonds had been selling slowly, and prices of material, insurance, and freight around the Horn or across the Isthmus were most excessive. Where could they have “possessed themselves of \$60,000,000,” then or thereafter, had they been so disposed?

In saying that not one cent of principal or interest had ever been paid, Bierce ignores the several millions paid into the United States Treasury through the original contract and the Thurman sinking fund.

While in Washington, Bierce would be encouraged and admonished in his work by frequent letters and telegrams from members of the staff of *The Examiner* which furnish interesting reading, as shown by the following excerpts:¹⁹

S. S. Chamberlain, February 20, 1896, telegram:

Please write an editorial friendly to Sutro as compared to Huntington and telegraph tomorrow.

T. T. Williams, business manager, March 3, 1896, telegram:



*C. P. Huntington, His Nephew, Henry E. Huntington,
and a Favorite Newsboy*



Private Car of C. P. Huntington in Mexico

Please call on Mr. Huntington and ask him if he ever made any statement that *The Examiner* was on the Southern Pacific pay roll and he cut it off, or that *The Examiner* ever in any way received any money except for legitimate purposes.

T. T. Williams, March 7, 1896, letter:

I realize that you are making a lot of converts and I don't wonder that Mr. Huntington wanted to meet you. One of the most remarkable things about Huntington is a real belief in himself most of the time. I remember when Geary was fighting him that in the broad light of the noon-day sun in Washington, he went to Geary's rooms and talked to him for an hour. He didn't give Geary any money but how do you suppose he won him over? As you will never guess, I will tell you. He flattered Geary to the sky, and told Geary that he was the only man who had ever given him any serious trouble, the only man in whose sincerity he believed, the only man whose objection endangered the existence of the road. Subsequently, Mr. Crocker told me that Mr. Huntington told him that in all his experience in legislation, Geary was the only man who had ever come to him and demanded a regular retainer as a Congressman. . . .

Edward H. Hamilton, managing editor, March 18, 1896, telegram:

Please attend to C.P.H. some more. People here seem to think we have quit on him.

T. T. Williams, March 23, 1896, letter:

. . . I have gone into little groups of railroadmen around the Palace Hotel and cursed them up hill and down as addicted to every vice and meanness on earth, and they will only say they are sorry that I think so. . . . Yes, I will get drunk with you when that thing goes through and shoot up the town. . . . A Congressman in California must either be a frothing demagogue or a smug hypocrite of a railroad hireling. . . . Fancy that Abhorrent Sutro being the only man in San Francisco to lead a fight like this!

T. T. Williams, March 30, 1896, telegram:

Examiner thinks that our delegation ought to be able to draft a bill for Government receivership or control, in case full debt not paid. Such a bill introduced by White, Perkins, Maguire, Bowers, et al., would form a rallying point for us all. Will you see them and say the people here expect them to take action.

T. T. Williams, April 30, 1896, telegram:

I congratulate you on the probability of beating that funding bill this session. . . . No other man could have accomplished it. California is deeply indebted to you, but is not likely to appreciate the service.

T. T. Williams, May 2, 1896, letter:

. . . The singular quality of *The Examiner* and *The Journal* is, that the more disreputable the methods employed to obtain anything, the more value placed on the object attained.

H. W. Hawley, managing editor, May 5, 1896, telegram:

If funding bill is actually defeated by reason of adjournment or any other cause, please have matter prepared which we can use in making hurrahs for *The Examiner*. Interviews with Congressmen and others in Washington. Possibly some of this can be secured in advance.

A. W. Lawrence, May 12, 1896, telegram:

Wow! Send us one of your gems. Something Biercy.

T. T. Williams, May 28, 1896, telegram:

My congratulations on the defeat of the funding bill²⁰ due to the able, earnest, and honest manner in which you fought against it. If you had done no other good than this your creation as a beneficent influence would be more than justified. It has been the most creditable fight *The Examiner* ever ran. What are you going to do now? Go to New York and wipe out Tammany, or come back here and complete the ruin of the Octopus?

A biographer of Ambrose Bierce tells the following story of an occurrence soon after his arrival in Washington:

A Washington newspaper man said to Huntington, "Bierce is in town." "How much does he want?" cynically asked Huntington. The insult was repeated to Bierce who replied, "Please go back and tell him that my price is about \$75,000,000. If, when he is able to pay, I happen to be out of town, he may hand it to my friend, the Treasurer of the United States."²¹

This story was repeated many years later by another biographer of Bierce, but with what a difference!

He was able to perform a public service by exposing devices resorted to by the Southern Pacific Railroad in order to avoid paying its debt to the Government, and when Huntington tried to buy him off, asking him boldly "to name your price—every man has his price," to ring the gong with the resounding retort, "My price is about \$75,000,000, to be handed to the Treasurer of the United States."²²

Besides falsely charging Mr. Huntington with attempted bribery, there are three other incorrect statements in that one paragraph: (1) The Southern Pacific Company, was not in debt to the Government; the bonds had been loaned to the Central Pacific Railroad Company before the Southern Pacific had ever been considered. (2) Mr. Huntington had not resorted to devices to keep from paying the Government debt; on the contrary, the funding bill was a plan for paying the entire debt. The Congress and whole country knew of the plan in detail. (3) Ambrose Bierce was not sent to Washington to expose Mr. Huntington's hidden devices, since there were none, but by "invective, satire, wit, ridicule, caricature," and falsehood to defeat the funding bill, to promote foreclosure, and to advocate the payment of the debt by Mr. Huntington himself.

Upon examination of various biographers of Ambrose Bierce it is astonishing to find that many of them, as well as the works of other writers, express the opinion that the funding bill was just a scheme to keep from paying the Government debt.

"Huntington was conducting a powerful lobby to pass his refunding bill, releasing him and his associates of the Central Pacific from their obligations to the Government."²³

"Bierce had gone to Washington from San Francisco to cover the principal scandal of the time, and had done so with marked success, deservedly winning national renown for his achievement in uncovering the most diabolical transportation plot that, until then, had been revealed in the United States. In doing so, he had not hesitated to do detective work."²⁴

"In 1896, Bierce was sent to Washington to fight, through the Hearst newspapers, the refunding bill which Collis Potter Huntington was trying to get passed releasing his Central Pacific from its obligations."²⁵

"As one of the leaders of the movement against the bill, Bierce was most effective; he has often been given credit for defeating it single-handed."²⁶

"His articles were extraordinary examples of invective and bitter sarcasm addressed to the dishonest nature of the bill. . . . Before the end of the year, he had them whipped."²⁷

"Adolph Sutro was a prominent leader in the fight against the funding bill. By helping to defeat the bill he also helped to save the people of the United States \$100,000,000."²⁸

When Bierce learned that Mr. Huntington had said that *The Examiner* had been receiving a subsidy from the Southern Pacific which had been stopped as blackmail, he was

loud in his denials and denunciation. He demanded that Huntington be called upon in court to prove his charges. In the meantime should the accusations be substantiated, he pledged himself to retire permanently from the service of *The Examiner*, and to accept Mr. Huntington's hand which he had twice refused publicly. One condition was exacted, however, Huntington must not object to his glove.²⁹

In the issue of April 11, 1896, of *The Wasp*, an editorial appeared on the subject:

Sometime ago Bierce announced that if it was proved that the Southern Pacific gave *The Examiner* a subsidy of \$30,000, he would offer his hand to Mr. Huntington and retire from the service of *The Examiner*. The proof has been presented and generally accepted by the public, but so far, we have not heard of Ambrose presenting his clipper to the President of the Southern Pacific. Probably he refrained from doing so, thinking that Huntington, who is quick to return a friendly overture, might respond by warmly presenting his No. 12 boot.

When the refunding bill, so bitterly contested, was defeated in May 1896, a great show of rejoicing was made by the Opposition. Ambrose Bierce was felicitated by the staff of *The Examiner* and others as having forced its defeat “single-handed,” although no proof of this has ever been offered. Whatever his part in the defeat of the funding bill, he failed in another part of his mission, the foreclosure of the Central Pacific. Bierce left for San Francisco in July but returned to Washington a year later where he remained for the rest of his journalistic career as a correspondent for the *New York Journal*.³⁰ In March, 1899, Hearst asked Bierce to resign from his position on the staff of *The Journal*.³¹

Other funding bills were introduced into Congress from time to time until January 10, 1897, when the last one was defeated. The day before the vote, a warning telegram was sent by Adolph Sutro to Charles A. Sumner, with instructions on how to proceed:

If any of the now pending funding bills should pass, it will mark the downfall of the nation. The plain duty of Congress is to drop the whole matter, request the President as Executive of the nation to obey the existing laws and instruct the Attorney-General to immediately proceed and foreclose on the defaulting debtors. The policy of the criminals who are managers of this huge job has been to traduce, malign and destroy the character of honest men who had the patriotism, the manhood and courage to oppose their villainies, and by the aid of a prostitute press to fortify their position.

If there be one drop of the blood of the Revolutionary Fathers left in these degenerate times, an investigating committee should be appointed and the attention of the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia called to the crime that is about to be committed.

This from a foreign born citizen, but recently authorized to vote, in reference to a sixth generation American citizen whose work was of incomparable value to the state and country.

About this time the Opposition were much disturbed over rumors of the appointment of a Commission by Congress to plan a settlement of the Government debt. Their chief objection to the Commission was that it destroyed their hopes of foreclosure and of wresting payment from Collis Potter Huntington's private fortune. Sutro requested an opinion from his lawyer, Henry E. Highton, who on January 23, 1897, wrote as follows:

. . . I regard the situation as still critical and that now, above all times, none of our friends in Congress should take the back track. . . .

The refunding bill has been beaten but a Commission, if possible, would be worse. A Commission means settlement, and there is nothing to settle out of court. . . . The honor of the Government is at stake, and the law must be applied to Mr. Huntington exactly as it would be applied to any other citizen, or equality is destroyed and the country disgraced. In creating the railroad, so to speak, the Government created the security for the repayment of its advances, and Mr. Huntington and his associates having the bonds, the land, and the railroad in their possession became trustees for that security. In the foreclosure suits, unless the national rights are given away, they or their successors will be compelled to put back every dollar that was fraudulently taken from its value. . . .

After this, another warning by Sutro “To the People of the United States” was published in the February 18, 1897, issue of *The Examiner* concerning the Commission:

. . . The Octopus has concocted a scheme by which it intends to maintain the monopoly and mastery over the whole Pacific Coast for probably a century to come. . . . To have a Commission to settle the Central Pacific indebtedness would be more dangerous than refunding. What have the United States to settle with Huntington, a debt or a crime? Plain law honestly applied through foreclosure will discover the whereabouts of the looted security, restore it to its rightful owner and thus collect the debt. . . . Does Congress intend to compromise a fraud?

On March 2, 1897, *The Examiner* carried a bit of editorial advice “To the California Legislature,” that it was their patriotic duty to correct the impression “worked upon Congress” that the Commission bill was acceptable to the people of California and that it was safer to trust the courts, etc., etc.

Despite the advice, entreaties, demands, accusations and dire threats of the “downfall of the nation,” by the Opposition, the Commission was appointed, July 7, 1898, which on

February 15, 1899, reported a plan of settlement of the debt agreed upon by the Government and the railroad companies.

By loud boasting of their part in the defeat of the Huntington refunding bill, the Opposition endeavored to cover up their chagrin at the failure of foreclosure, and their greater disappointment that Huntington's personal wealth had not been wrested from him to pay the Government debt.

The San Francisco *Call* for May 1, 1898, published a reporter's interview with Mr. Huntington who was in San Francisco at that time. Among other things, Mr. Huntington expressed the following opinion of *The Examiner*:

That newspaper, known to its few readers by the name of *The Examiner*, will say most anything, no matter how distorted, if it imagines it can hurt me in any way. I can't say that I don't know the reason for this hostility to me for I do. You see *The Examiner* has a grievance against me and a very substantial one at that. I stopped a blackmailing income of a thousand dollars a month that it had enjoyed at one time, and ever since it has been down on me. I never worry about the articles that it prints.

Carroll Carrington of *The Examiner's* staff wrote to Ambrose Bierce in Washington, September 28, 1898, as follows concerning that journal:

Circulation of *The Examiner* has fallen from 89,000 to 79,000 daily, and from 113,000 to 99,000 Sunday. . . . Hearst blames Lawrence for the bad repute the paper has fallen into. . . . It has degenerated and lost the only creditable reputation it ever had, that of being clever; it has always been yellow, but never before, stupidly so. It has lost most of its good artists and writers, in a large measure, yourself, for we never have "Prattle" any more. . . . *The Examiner* without cleverness is merely an insult to the public taste. Filth without an occasional clean spot is inexcusable. The circulation's fall has brought this home to Hearst with a disconcerting jar.

From the beginning of the construction of his first railroad, through the years and the thousands of miles of other railroads, and to the end of his life, Collis Potter Huntington was the target of the Opposition and their journals. Through all the storms of abuse, falsehood, and ridicule, the missiles of venom and malevolence beating about his head, he bore himself with unbelievable patience and equanimity.

A serious and deplorable feature of these attacks was the lasting impression on the general public extending to the generations that followed, many of whom to this day mention his name sneeringly or with scorn. Is it not time to reconsider him seriously and honestly, not only as the greatest of railroad builders and a financial genius, but as a man of boundless vision, indomitable courage and force, and unswerving integrity; and to reckon up his unparalleled contributions to the welfare of mankind?

Chapter L

“HELPING OTHERS TO HELP THEMSELVES”



THROUGH ALL the memorials, petitions, resolutions, and newspaper articles of the Opposition, and in the debates of Congress, appears the one demand: Collis Potter Huntington must be forced to pay the Government debt with his personal fortune. That only a small part of his wealth was acquired by the construction of the Government aided line was of no consideration whatever. If all his wealth were required to pay the debt of \$70,000,000—the sum they claimed was due—so much the better since all of it was acquired fraudulently.

What was the chief cause of this unanimity among them? Jealousy, hatred and envy. From the very first San Francisco and her journals resented the fact that the transcontinental line should start anywhere in the State except from her own borders. We have seen how this Opposition spread and increased in malevolence as the years went by. When the Pacific Railroad was finished, every conceivable fault was found with its operation and management. Freight rates and fares, discrimination, taxes, politics—all their weaknesses exaggerated—were kept before the public as diabolical schemes for dominating the city and state.

In a history of San Francisco, written in 1878, it was stated with pride that that city had more millionaires in proportion

to the inhabitants, fewer paupers, and more landowners probably than any other city in the country. Twenty-three millionaires were listed whose wealth was acquired in various ways: miners, bankers, brokers, lawyers, barkeepers, livery stable, brick layer, loans, butcher, stock market, and railroad builders.¹ Of all these, only the last named, who acquired their wealth by an occupation that had done more for the city of San Francisco and the State of California than any other—probably than all of the others—were derided, sneered at, hampered by persistent efforts to check their progress, and accused not only of robbing the railroads, but of fraudulent dealings with the Government.

This was well-expressed by a counsel for the Central Pacific Company in 1886:

In the eyes of the envious and jealous, they committed the unpardonable sin: success in the place of prophesied disaster. This was sufficient to set in motion every envious tongue and pen in the land, and from that day to this, they have been slandered, abused, vilified, and traduced in the most inhuman and fiendish manner. . . . Because they acted when others stood still; because they acquired large fortunes by energy, prudence, and good judgment, while others remained stationary, every cur in the land commenced barking at their heels.²

On March 7, 1892, the Sacramento *Record-Union* published answers to questions submitted to Mr. Huntington concerning his railroads, in which he said:

What road has ever been built in California that the public has not benefitted by its building? The writer of this has spent more money in building railroads in your state than he ever made in California, and used his credit and that of his associates often up to very near the danger line. I will admit that it was for the profit

and the pride of the building; but I speak truly when I say that the greatest pleasure that we received from the work was the consciousness that it would build up the country and benefit the people living along its lines.

When considering some of the results of the continued activities of these four men, Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker, a writer comments as follows:

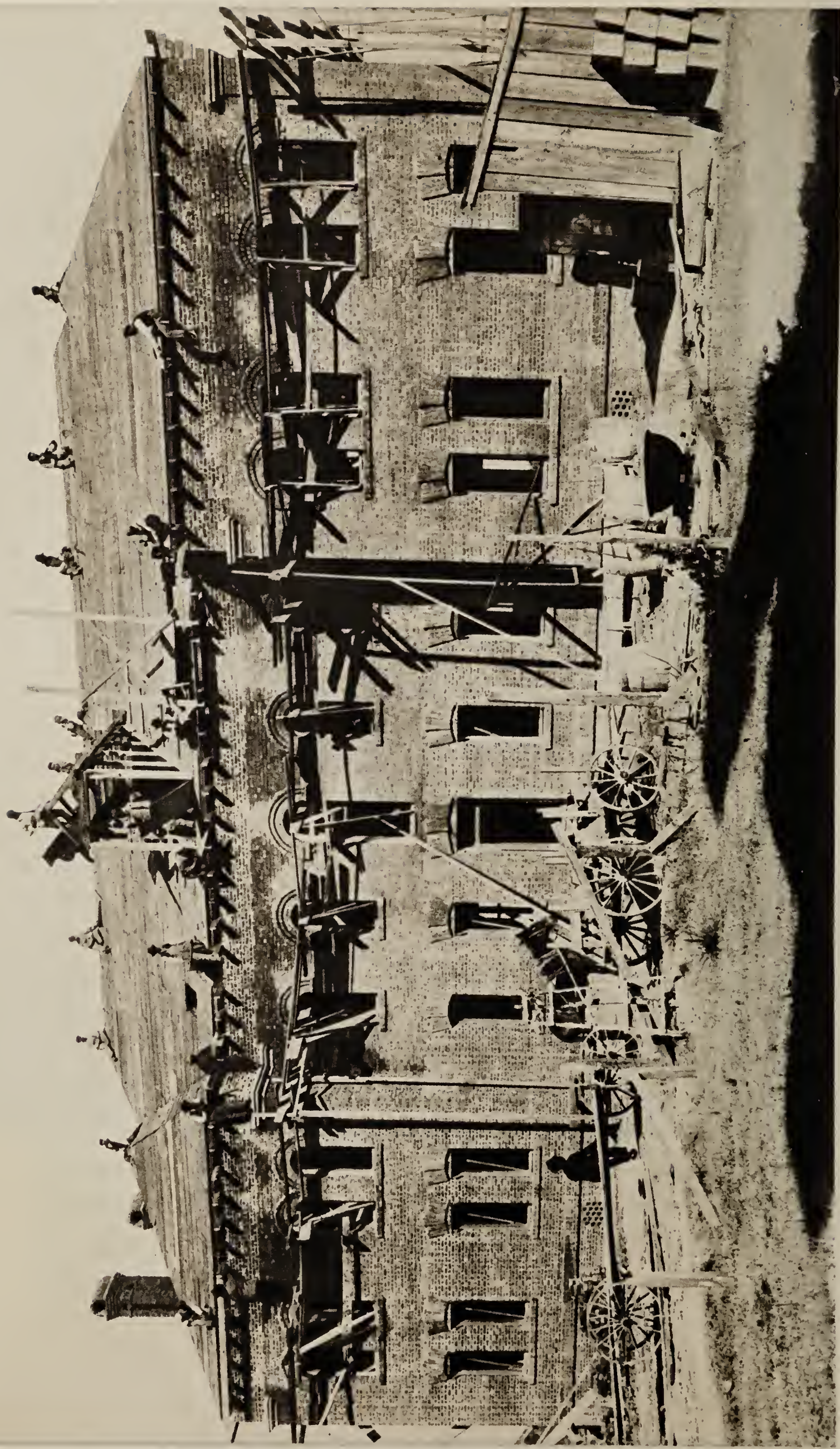
California is the chief beneficiary, of course. Here in a state given to change, change has been complete. Wealth beyond the imagination of man has been created, and shared by all. The men who built the roads made large fortunes, it is true, but for every dollar that came to them, thousands of dollars have come to their compatriots; and, best of all, benefits that will bless future generations for all time.³

Let us list some of the benefits acquired by California through the labors of the men who built these railroads. Since the success of the roads is generally attributed, by friend and foe alike, to the determination and perseverance of Collis Potter Huntington, it cannot be amiss to regard these benefits, directly and indirectly, as due to his leadership.

First of all, and the source from which most if not all the other benefits flow, is the great railroad line extending throughout the length and breadth of the State, the Main Line of the Southern Pacific System with its more than 9,000 miles of track connecting California with the Eastern States over two transcontinental routes. All along the line of railroad have been located large cities, towns, and villages where thousands of people have their homes and occupations. Within easy reach of the railroad are numerous ranches of wheat fields, cotton fields, dairies, orange groves, and vineyards.



Collis Potter Huntington



Huntington Hall, Girls Dormitory at Tuskegee Institute, Under Construction by the Students

Who can correctly estimate the value of such a transportation system to the State? Said one writer, "These railroads have created more wealth, developed more country, and multiplied more industries in California than every other agency combined."

There were other important organizations connected with the railroad. For the benefit of its employees, who were mostly citizens of California, the Central Pacific Company in 1869, established a hospital at Sacramento at a cost of over \$60,000. This hospital was maintained in part by monthly contributions of fifty cents each from every man engaged with the company. The hospital was provided with a library of over 2,000 volumes by Mr. Huntington and maintained by the company.

In March of 1900, the Southern Pacific Company organized a Relief Department for its employees. This included a fund for the payment of definite amounts to contributing employees who would thereby be entitled to relief when disabled by accident or illness. To this fund the company made an annual payment of \$36,000.⁴

In connection with the railroad, a large fleet of ferryboats were operated on the Bay of San Francisco connecting the eastern and western shores and the Oakland terminal of the Central Pacific with San Francisco. The railroads operated also a fleet of steamboats on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers connecting the city of Sacramento and other river ports with San Francisco.

The Occidental and Oriental Steamship Line was established by the railroad company in 1874 and operated between San Francisco and the Far East with the object of expanding trade with the Orient, one of Mr. Huntington's

urgent desires for California. Control of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was gained in 1893, when Mr. Huntington became its president. This line operated along the Pacific Coast from San Francisco to the Isthmus of Panama, and to the Far East.

The Opposition charged Mr. Huntington with having little interest in charities or other worthy causes, and in spite of his great wealth, making only small contributions to them. Some of the accusations reach the point of absurdity as in the following statement by a recent writer:

Despite his great wealth, Huntington remained as careful as ever of his dollars. He made small contributions only after projects had been thoroughly investigated. That economy accounts for to-day's forlorn terminal at Third and Townsend Streets. Plans for a more elaborate one had been thrown out by Huntington as extravagant.⁵

Mr. Harriman assumed control of the Southern Pacific in April, 1901; the building that housed the offices at Fourth and Townsend Streets was destroyed by the earthquake and fire of 1906. How then could Mr. Huntington's economy be blamed for the "forlorn terminal" of the Southern Pacific in 1940, forty years after his death?

In his address at the tenth and last of his annual dinners for the railroad officials, May 13, 1900, Mr. Huntington revealed the kind of charities that he was disposed to aid:

Since I have come to California, one third of my daily mail is made up of appeals for help, and these calls are about equally divided between requests for contributions to help pay off debts and mortgages which should not have been contracted; applications of young men out of work, which always have my sympathy; and cries for succor from the sick and suffering poor, who must be cared for whatever may be the cause of their sickness or their poverty.⁶

Mr. Huntington's responses to these appeals were never made public; it was against his principles. As a friend of long standing said of him:

Rarely was Mr. Huntington's name seen in connection with public subscriptions or loudly heralded charities. He had little faith in that sort of thing, but few men were more charitable, more generous in giving, or in doing good to others than he. His good deeds were done in his own way and always on the principle that it is better to help one to help himself than to give alms. . . . Hundreds of prosperous men owe their prosperity to the encouragement and aid given them by Mr. Huntington.⁷

Some few of Mr. Huntington's small contributions to worthy causes in California are known to us. The readiness of certain San Francisco newspapers to disparage and ridicule every deed and utterance of Mr. Huntington did not encourage him to make donations that would become known to the public.

The San Francisco *Call* in its issue of February 2, 1895, credits Mr. Huntington with paying the rent for St. Paul's Mission on Mission Street near Fifth. This Adventist Church had been carrying on evangelical work to which Mr. Huntington had contributed at various times, from \$300 to \$700 for its support.

In the October 3, 1895, issue, *The Call* refers to a lake and a waterfall at Strawberry Hill in the Golden Gate Park as a result of a contribution by Mr. Huntington. In Arthur McEwen's *Letter* of March 3, 1894, the cost of this addition to the Park was given as \$25,000. Both periodicals treated the gift with rather contemptuous amusement.

In June, 1897, Mr. Huntington presented the University of California at Berkeley with two autographed manuscripts,

Diary of Fray Narciso Duran of the expedition on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in 1817; and *Diary of Padre Fages*. These diaries were a part of the Robert E. Cowan collection which were among the materials gathered by General H. W. Halleck for a history of California which he left unfinished. The diaries were translated and published by the Academy of Pacific Coast History, publications 2 and 3 of the University of California.⁸

In May, 1898, a gift of \$1,000 was made to the California Academy of Sciences by Mr. Huntington toward the publication fund. One year later, he presented two "large and valuable" paintings to the Golden Gate Memorial Museum, "Blind Man's Bluff," by W. Schutze, and "The Falconer's Recital," by Vacslav Brozik. In three years, twenty valuable oil paintings had been added to this museum by Mr. Huntington.

On April 8, 1899, it was announced by the San Francisco *Call* that Mr. Huntington had brought two pictures from the East for the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. One, a still life by William Harnett; the other, a summer landscape by Julian Rix. The Harnett was brought from Mr. Huntington's New York gallery, while the Rix was purchased especially for the Art Institute.

On April 10, 1900, Mr. Huntington gave the California Water and Forest Association \$1,000 to assist in the work of impounding the floods of that state. The Association's finance committee had previously secured \$7,600 from the banks and business houses of San Francisco.⁹

Mrs. Collis Potter Huntington on May 16, 1890, presented the Children's Hospital of San Francisco with a check for

\$1,000.¹⁰ On February 16, 1915, Mrs. Huntington gave the lot on the north side of California Street adjoining Taylor Street to the city for a children's park and playground, to be known as Huntington Park in memory of Mr. Huntington. The lot measures 170 feet by 275 feet and is the site of the Colton house which Mr. Huntington purchased in 1892 and was destroyed in the great fire of 1906. The lot was estimated to be worth \$275,000 and was considered one of the most valuable lots in the city. A magnificent view of the harbor and hills beyond may be obtained from this park.¹¹

The Leland Stanfords made contributions of great and lasting value to California, the results of their connection with the railroads. Of first importance was the Leland Stanford, Junior, University with its unprecedented endowment of \$20,000,000, the greatest at that time of any endowment in the country. The announcement was made in 1885, the corner stone laid in 1887, and the buildings opened in 1891 with David Starr Jordan as its first President.¹² From that day it has been noted for the excellence of its teaching staff and splendid accomplishments. Herbert Hoover, who became the 31st President of the United States, and Lou Henry, who became Hoover's wife, were among the first graduates. The Hoover Tower, a library of World War materials, has been established at the University by Ex-President and the late Mrs. Hoover.

On May 20, 1871, the California *Spirit of the Times* announced a gift of \$25,000 by Ex-Governor Stanford to the Odel (Odd?) Fellows College at Napa, California. He also donated twenty acres of land for the University of Nevada and \$500 in cash.

The same weekly periodical on June 27, 1891, announced that Mrs. Leland Stanford had given a fund of \$100,000 in aid of five kindergartens in San Francisco, in addition to large sums that she had previously given for this work. The Stanford house on Nob Hill at California and Powell Streets was deeded to Stanford University in 1897, by Mrs. Stanford who reserved the right to reside there as long as she lived. She died in 1905, and the next year the house was destroyed by the great fire following an earthquake.

The California *Spirit of the Times* for November 14, 1885, announced that Charles Crocker, who had supervised the construction of the railroads, had placed to the credit of the Boys and Girls Aid Society of San Francisco, \$30,000, the estimated cost of a new building. The Crockers were also given credit for a contribution of \$10,000 toward rebuilding the conservatory in Golden Gate Park.

During the Christmas week of 1888, after Charles Crocker's death, and at his request, Mrs. Crocker is said to have distributed more than \$50,000 to various charities. Donations were made to the California Women's Hospital and the Children's Hospital, and to several kindergartens in San Francisco.¹³

To the YWCA Mrs. Crocker presented the lot on which the building was erected in 1889, and a liberal sum toward the building fund. A home for the aged and indigent of both sexes was completed in San Francisco in 1890, one of the largest and best institutions of its kind, at a cost of \$250,000, the gift of Mrs. Charles Crocker.¹⁴

The Crocker Art Gallery in Sacramento was a gift to the people of that city by Mrs. Margaret E. Crocker, widow of Judge E. B. Crocker who was a brother of Charles Crocker

and Chief Counsel for the Central Pacific Railroad Company from 1863 to 1871. The art collection cost about \$400,000 and was housed in a building that is said to have cost \$200,000. This building and the collection became the property of the city of Sacramento May 20, 1885, by a deed of trust.¹⁵

In 1893, the San Francisco School of Art became the Institute of Art, and on May 16 of that year moved into the Hopkins' mansion on California and Mason Streets, a gift of Mrs. Mark Hopkins, widow of the Treasurer of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Companies from 1861 to 1878. The organization was known thereafter as the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. Said *The Call*, "Here with a good art gallery and art school we shall have with our climate and scenery everything to make San Francisco a great art center." Unfortunately, the Hopkins building and its collections were destroyed by the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906.

Until the Southern Pacific Railroad was extended across the Tehachapi to Los Angeles and on to Yuma, the Southern California region was regarded as of comparatively small value. Its agricultural products were exceedingly limited in variety and quantity. The land was believed to be of little use except as pasturage for sheep and cattle. With the coming of the railroad, however, people began to awaken to its possibilities.

Henry Edwards Huntington, a nephew of Collis Potter Huntington, was first assistant to the President of the Southern Pacific from 1892 to 1900, and Vice-President from 1900. In traveling over the State, he became convinced that Southern California was to have a remarkable growth. In 1898, he began to sell his holdings in San Francisco and to

invest in Los Angeles property. An inheritance of several millions from his uncle in 1900, enabled him to carry on the activities that resulted in the development of Los Angeles and Southern California. In 1902, he moved to Los Angeles, bought up the existing street car lines and began the construction of the Pacific Electric Railway that developed into a radiating interurban system extending in every direction to ocean beaches, through the inland country and the orange belt amounting to 1,093 miles of track.

Mr. Huntington bought immense tracts of land in the suburbs served by his lines, laid them out in lots and landscaped them. This resulted in one of the richest districts of small fruit ranches and gardens in the world and a large number of interurban towns. Thousands of men working in Los Angeles were enabled to have their homes within easy commuting distance thereby lessening the crowded areas of that city. In 1911, the Pacific Electric Railway became by purchase, a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific Company.¹⁶

In 1914, Henry E. Huntington announced that the sum of \$64,000,000 was to be spent to enlarge the Pacific Light and Power Company. Gigantic dams were built across certain gorges in the High Sierras, creating an artificial body of water five miles long and one mile wide which was named Huntington Lake and used for generating electric energy for power plants, lighting and heating homes, stores, streets, etc. The lake is used also as a recreation center for both summer and winter sports, accommodations being furnished at Huntington Lodge, a modern hotel built at the lake.¹⁷

It may be of interest to note that on the road from Cascada, the site of the power plant, to Huntington Lake may be seen



Westchester Library and Reading Room



Huntington Memorial Library, Hampton Institute, Dedication Day, April 28, 1903

a group of mountains named for the four associates: Mt. Huntington, 12,393 feet; Mt. Crocker, 12,448 feet; Mt. Stanford, 12,826 feet; and Mt. Hopkins, 12,300 feet.

In 1913, Mr. Henry E. Huntington married Mrs. Collis P. Huntington, the widow of his uncle, and together they developed the beautiful estate at San Marino and one of the finest libraries and art galleries in the world containing a priceless collection of rare volumes, manuscripts and canvases of old masters. This is known as the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. By deeds of trust in 1927, the collections together with the estate of more than two hundred acres, were placed into the hands of a self-perpetuating board of five trustees to be maintained for the use of the public. At that time the collection was valued at \$30,000,000, and a fund of \$8,000,000 was provided for its operation.

A Memorial Hospital has been erected in Pasadena in memory of Collis Potter Huntington and Howard Edward Huntington, the deceased son of Henry E. Huntington, at a cost of \$2,000,000. An oil painting of Collis Potter Huntington hangs on the wall in this building. A contribution of \$10,000 each was made to the Occidental College and the University of Southern California by Henry E. Huntington.

At the entrance to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum in San Francisco stand two superb equestrian statues, the Joan of Arc and El Cid, both the work of the celebrated and talented artist, Anna Hyatt Huntington, wife of Archer M. Huntington. Embedded in the base of the Joan of Arc statue are two stones that were brought from the dungeon in Rouen, France, where she was confined just before she was burned at the stake, May 30, 1431, and presented by the Jeanne d'Arc Society. These statues form a

part of the Collis Potter Huntington Memorial Collection, the gift of Mr. Huntington's adopted son, Archer Milton Huntington.

In the room reserved for this collection are many rare English and French mezzotints and stipple engravings of the eighteenth century, personally collected by Mr. Huntington's father and mother and valued in excess of \$1,500,000. There are also a beautiful group of small bronzes, a fine marble "Beyond" by Chester Beach, a group of exquisite Japanese ivories, and two charming groups of statuary, "Fawns" and "Greyhounds," by Anna Hyatt Huntington.

Four portraits are in the collection: Citizen Bernard Dubard, by Jean Baptist Greuze, painted in 1797; Marquis de Montespan, by Nicolas Largilliere; M. Braun and Mme. Braun, both by Jean Baptiste Perronneau. Also, three portrait busts: Collis Potter Huntington, by Anna Hyatt Huntington; George Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon, by Jean Antoine Houdon; and, in terra cotta, Mlle. Camargo, by Caffieri.

Four canvases by famous artists hang on the walls: View of Rome, by Corot; Madonna and Child, by Tintoretto; On the Beach at Valencia, by Sorolla; and Girl Singing, by Georges de la Tour.

There are four brilliant and gem-like Limoges enamels of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries: Adoration of the Magi, The Last Supper, Descent from the Cross, and Portrait of a Man; two Caladon ewers of the Louis XV period, French, ormolu mounted; and two marquetry commodes, French, Louis XV period.

Among the most interesting exhibits are four beautiful and historic Gobelin tapestries from the series "Les Portieres des

Dieux." The four seasons are represented by Venus, Ceres, Bacchus, and Saturn, typifying Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter respectively. These tapestries have the rose-colored background of the period of 1771 and Claude Audran.

In addition to these and other objects of art in the collection a number of valuable books have been presented to the art library of the museum by the Hispanic Society of New York. A fund for the maintenance of this memorial collection was provided by Mr. Huntington.¹⁸

In what else beside these material things—in what intangible ways have the lives of the people of California been enriched by the work of Collis Potter Huntington, his associates, and his successors? The joys of happy homes innumerable; the interests and satisfactions of industrial and other occupations by many thousands of persons; intellectual growth through school systems, libraries, and art galleries in cities and towns founded because of the railroads; spiritual development through churches, church schools and other means; the pleasures of neighborly intercourse and interchange of ideas; the stamina, courage and self-respect that come to all who help themselves.

When we consider these and all other benefits that have accrued to California through the leadership and hard work of this man, it does seem paltry and picayunish to keep harping on "monopoly," "octopus," "fraudulent dealings," and other false charges at this late day, not to mention the injustice and dishonesty of it all.

Doubtless the railroad company did many things that were rightly objected to—what railroad ever pleased all the people it served? Some of those activities, however, were done in self-defense to keep from failure, others were standard pro-

cedures of railroads everywhere that were misunderstood by the public. Should not the great and lasting results, however, the magnificent transportation system and all its concomitants, so outweigh the minor offenses as to render them now unimportant if not entirely nil?

A contemporary writer said of Mr. Huntington:

While his successes may be ever so unprecedented and his accumulations fabulous, he has never invaded a right, nor weakened the opportunities of a human being. He has simply showed the possibilities open to all men and the energy required to make a struggling world better by means of the untiring efforts of one man.¹⁹

Chapter LI

CHESAPEAKE & OHIO RAILROAD COMPANY



ON JUNE 23, 1869, Mr. Huntington wrote to Mr. Stanford that he would go to Washington that night, and from there to White Sulphur Springs. He expected to be away from the New York office about two weeks.

The Richmond (Va.) *Dispatch* for July 1, 1869, carried a special item from White Sulphur Springs, dated June 29, 1869, announcing the arrival on that day of the first passengers on the Chesapeake & Ohio train from Covington. Among the passengers were Mr. C. P. Huntington and Mr. A. W. Peck of New York, General W. C. Wickham, General Joseph R. Anderson, General John Echols, Major H. D. Whitcomb and others of Virginia, who came with the intention of examining the proposed route for the railroad with a view to its immediate extension to the Ohio River.

On January 14, 1870, Mr. Huntington disclosed this new undertaking to his California associates in the following letter to Mr. Hopkins:

The old officers of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company came to this city and said to A. A. Low, William A. Aspinwall, Harvey Fisk, A. S. Hatch, and myself, that if we would get five others, ten in all, to take \$100,000 each of their first mortgage bonds at the market price, about ninety cents, and allow our names to be

used as directors of the company, they would give us a large bonus of stock, which proposition we accepted.

As to my ability to pay, it is hardly necessary to discuss here as I can go on the Street and borrow more than \$100,000 on the bonds and stocks I receive. I said to all parties that I did not expect to devote all my time to carrying this work forward, but if no one of the New York parties did anything, I thought the negotiation was a good one for the Chesapeake & Ohio, as it had given the company a status it never had before. When I went into this, I did not expect, nor do I now expect to do less than my duty to my associates in California. I am satisfied that my going into this has made me stronger than I was before, which of course adds to the strength of all our interests.

The reverberations from driving the last spike connecting the Central Pacific and Union Pacific into a transcontinental railroad, May 10, 1869, had scarcely died away when a delegation of officers of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company, headed by their President, General Williams C. Wickham, appeared at Mr. Huntington's office in New York and endeavored to interest him and other capitalists in taking over the control of the railroad as explained above in Mr. Huntington's letter.

The project of Virginia to build a railroad from the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio River had been shattered by the War Between the States and the reconstruction period that had followed. The railroads were in ruins, enormous debts had piled up, and another state torn from her territory. Notwithstanding, the company had extended the road from Jackson's River, where it was stopped when the war broke out, to White Sulphur Springs, but no funds were available for further construction and the situation seemed hopeless.

Mr. Huntington listened attentively as the visitors described to him a great trunk line of railroad along the route

chosen for the Chesapeake & Ohio. His astute mind could not fail to see its great advantages: the shortest route between the Atlantic and the Ohio with low grades, light curves, cheap fuel, and a genial climate, all of which admitted of safe, economical and rapid railroad operation throughout the year, while the varied products of the country through which the railroad would pass assured them of heavy freights. He envisaged also, as was disclosed later, a possible extension of the railroad to the Mississippi River, the vision of Matthew Fontaine Maury and others.

A short time later, Mr. Huntington sent General Wickham a proposition dated June 9, 1869, under which he and the other capitalists would be willing to serve, the chief requirement of which was the withdrawal of the \$10,000,000 seven per cent mortgage bonds and to provide for the issue of a new loan of \$15,000,000 at six per cent, both principal and interest payable in gold. Several other requirements followed, the paper closing with the statement:

In consideration of the assent of the company to the foregoing stipulations, we will assume the control of the affairs of the Company and devote whatever skill, experience, and influence we possess to secure early completion of the road, the extension of its business connections and the establishment of its finances on a satisfactory basis.

These tentative stipulations led to the adoption of two resolutions at a meeting of the Board of Directors on July 15, 1869, in the office of the company in Richmond to the effect that if C. P. Huntington and his associates would make the company a proposition substantially the same as that of the tentative paper, the Committee, consisting of President Wickham, General Echols and Mr. C. E. Wortham, were authorized to accept it and to take the necessary steps to put it into effect.¹

The response to this appears to have been made four months later. On November 23, 1869, at another meeting, the Board of Directors passed a resolution confirming and ratifying the action of the Committee in accepting the propositions and agreement of C. P. Huntington and his associates contained in another paper dated November 16, 1869, at New York.

Mr. Huntington and each of the following associates subscribed \$100,000 toward the six per cent mortgage bonds to be issued by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company: William H. Aspinwall, Harvey Fisk, A. S. Hatch, and A. A. Low. Five other persons subscribed \$50,000 each: David Stewart, Jonas B. Clark, W. Whitewright, Jr., John F. Winslow by Joseph R. Anderson, attorney, and Charles M. Fry. Two names among the associates are of especial interest, Harvey Fisk and A. S. Hatch, members of the firm of Fisk & Hatch who had served for a number of years as Mr. Huntington's financial agent in selling railroad and Government bonds and in making loans. In all the vast transactions between them amounting to many millions of dollars, there were never any written contracts, an unusual business situation.

A reorganization meeting of the stockholders of the company was held November 26, 1869, in which Mr. Huntington was elected President of the company, and General Wickham Vice-President. The following members were elected directors for the ensuing year: C. P. Huntington, A. A. Low, W. H. Aspinwall, Pliny Fisk (son of Harvey Fisk), David Stewart, Jonas B. Clark, and W. B. Hatch (son of A. S. Hatch), all of New York; H. C. Parsons of West Virginia, John Echols, Staunton, Virginia, W. C. Wickham, Hanover,

Virginia, and J. R. Anderson, Richmond, Virginia.² The old stockholders were bought out by being paid in the common stock of the new company as was customary.

At the time of the trip to White Sulphur Springs in July, 1869, Mr. Huntington with General Wickham, Major Whitcomb, chief engineer for the Chesapeake & Ohio, and several others explored the proposed route toward the Ohio River that had been surveyed by the engineer Charles B. Fisk for the Board of Public Works of Virginia. Fisk had discovered the gap in the Alleghenies and located the road from Covington to the Big Sandy River, including White Sulphur Springs in the route, upon orders from the Board. The exploring party went down Howard's Creek to the Greenbrier River and down that river to its mouth where it flows into the New River, and down the New River to Bowyer's Ferry, known later as Sewell's Station.³

The work of the railroad was promptly undertaken by the new company and pressed forward vigorously. Major Whitcomb, the engineer, reconnoitered the entire region, explored mountain ranges, examined all previous surveys, shortened distances, improved grades and curves until he had finally located the shortest and best route that could be found; after which a site for a terminus was located on the Ohio River west of Guyandot and named in honor of Mr. Huntington.

Contracts were let to individual contractors and they were on the job early in May, 1870. Construction was started at both ends of the line, White Sulphur Springs and Huntington. Large gangs of workmen both white and colored were employed, the latter working principally on the eastern end of the line and the white workmen on the western end. The engineers claimed that there were no better workmen in the

world than those Negroes. A wood-burner engine named *Greenbrier* was brought up the Ohio River for use on the West-end construction.

In November, 1871, A. H. Perry, General Superintendent, appointed Joseph E. Mallory as train dispatcher to control all movements of trains in the western end of the line. This was the initial start of the Chesapeake & Ohio operation from Huntington eastward as far as the road had been built. At the same time Captain J. H. Vandiver was given charge of the connecting link which transferred passengers from one end of construction to the other. Work on certain sections of the road was found to be much heavier than expected and called for larger expenditures than planned, consequently the length of completed road for 1871 was disappointing.⁴

Although the company had opened the railroad to White Sulphur Springs on June 29, 1869, only temporary tracks had been laid at two places on the line between Millboro and White Sulphur, Jerry's Run and Lewis Tunnel. Jerry's Run was a tremendous ravine coming down from the Alleghenies directly across the route of the railroad. This fill at the center was nearly 200 feet deep and required 1,554,560 cubic yards of material, one of the heaviest and most costly pieces of construction on the entire line. It is said to be the only fill on any railroad in the United States having a rock tunnel for drainage under the fill. The near-by Lewis Tunnel, 4,000 feet in length, was cut through a spur of solid rock called Little Allegheny. Both the fill and the tunnel were completed during the year 1872.⁵

The first coal used for fuel on a Chesapeake & Ohio locomotive and the first carload of coal shipped on that railroad came from a small mine near Cabin Creek, a few miles

east of Charleston, owned by a man named Hastings. About a month after the first carload was shipped, Mr. Huntington appeared at Cabin Creek. He was on his way to see William H. Edwards, a noted entomologist who lived at Coalburg and owned the Coalburg mine. The railroad had reached Coalburg and the right of way had been blocked by Mr. Edwards who claimed that his terms had not been met. One of his stipulations was that no engine should whistle within hearing distance of his residence. The story of Mr. Huntington's visit is told by Mr. Hastings:

Mr. Huntington arrived in an ordinary day coach with some secretaries, attorneys, and others. He was a very impressive looking man. He wore a long coat with two buttons on the back, that came down to his knees. He stopped for a few minutes to chat pleasantly with his construction engineers and others, then went along to the Edwards' place. He did not return from Coalburg until after dinner that evening, and then with Mr. Edwards accompanying him. We knew, seeing them together, that the rails would soon be laid through Coalburg. . . . Mr. Huntington heard about my carload of coal and stated that I had started something that would grow beyond the belief of anyone then living.⁶

By November 1872, the main line of the C. & O. had been completed so far as to permit the passage of an excursion train containing Mr. Huntington, Mr. Storrs, counselor, Major Perry, General Superintendent, General Wickham, Vice-President, General Echols, and several leading citizens of New York who had not been over the line before. They expressed surprise and enthusiasm over the immense coal deposits, veins of iron, salt furnaces, and forests of valuable timber. A part of the journey was performed on horseback and at a point in West Virginia, the Governor of the State and his staff met them and paid their respects. The party

stopped at Staunton, Virginia, as announced by the *Staunton Vindicator* as follows:

On Saturday last [Nov. 2, 1872], a train came rushing into Staunton and stacking up to the station deposited a half-dozen men, a party of really great men with broad minds, active energetic brains, and a height of honorable ambition. The men who control the road, what they are like: [Here follows some rather surprising descriptions of the men in the party including a description of Mr. Huntington.]

General Huntington is a medium-sized, heavy set, large headed man with full whiskers and hair, quick brown eyes, and weighing about 180 pounds. He is about 45 years old and is a native of New York. He is a born railroad King with an eye that takes in at a glance every connection that would be of value to his road, and that sort of foresight that can tell today what a railroad will be worth five years from now. He has mastered the science of railroads, for it is a science, from its grandest object as an agent of civilization down to the pettiest details that a section master has to deal with.⁷

Large sawmills were established along the line at Greenbrier and St. Albans, the latter in charge of Henry E. Huntington, a nephew of Mr. Huntington from Oneonta.

At the behest of Mr. Huntington, the City of Richmond voted \$300,000 in bonds to build a tunnel 3,927 feet in length through Church Hill from the Chesapeake & Ohio passenger depot to the docks at Fulton Street on the James River. The railroad company was also granted by Richmond the right of way along the water front. The tunnel was started February 1, 1872, and after many difficulties and several serious accidents, it was opened October 1, 1873. Coal and other freight were brought to Fulton Street by the railroad and transferred by wheelbarrows to tidewater vessels until the Peninsula Division was opened in 1882. During the year, 1877, as many as 907 vessels cleared from the Fulton docks.



Jerry's Run on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad in West Virginia



Huntington, West Virginia, on the Ohio River, 1872

The last spike in the construction of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad from Richmond to Huntington, a distance of 414 miles, was driven near Hawk's Nest in West Virginia on January 29, 1873. A special train from Richmond in charge of Major H. D. Whitcomb, Chief Engineer, with railroad officials and others, passed over the line to Huntington on that date linking the waters of the James River with the waters of the Ohio. On its return trip, the train reached Richmond, February 1, with several carloads of coal attached and carrying a demijohn of Ohio River water to mingle with that of the James. This was the occasion for a jubilant celebration in Richmond. Regular passenger service was inaugurated between the two cities on the first of April of that year.⁸

On June 21, 1873, the newspapers announced that Mr. Huntington, Major Perry, General Superintendent, Major Whitcomb, Chief Engineer, Mr. A. A. Low, Director, and other officials of the company, had passed over the line in daylight with a view to making improvements in the service, additions to trains, and other arrangements called for by the increase in passenger and freight business since the opening of the road. This was followed by another brief visit of Mr. Huntington in August of that year when it was decided to complete at once the Chesapeake & Ohio repair shops located at Huntington.⁹

Early in Mr. Huntington's administration, with a view to future needs, consideration was given to the construction of a branch line from the main line of the Chesapeake & Ohio at or near Covington to connect with the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad at Lynchburg, securing easier grades and curves than those of the main line. At a meeting of the

directors on April 5, 1870, held in New York, a resolution was adopted requesting the President of the company to cause proper explorations and surveys to be made. As a result, the following letter from Mr. Huntington, dated April 6, 1870, was sent to the Honorable Gilbert C. Walker, Governor of Virginia, and as such, President of the Board of Public Works through which all applications to the General Assembly for charters were passed:

I beg leave respectfully to transmit herewith a copy of the resolutions recently adopted by the directors of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company in relation to the route selected for one of the branches of said railroad authorized by its charter. This notification has been deemed proper in order to avoid any hindrance to other improvements, or any inadvertent interference with the charter rights of the company.¹⁰

Another step in that direction was taken on March 24, 1871, when the Legislature of Virginia passed an Act which, among other proposed extensions, authorized the railroad company to build a branch line from a point on the main line between Goshen and Covington to a point on the James River and from thence to Richmond. The construction of this proposed branch line was delayed, however, in the efforts to push the main line through as soon as possible and by the heavy expenditures in connection therewith. In 1889, under other management, the company acquired the Richmond & Allegheny Railroad extending from Clifton Forge to Richmond along the James River, on practically the route proposed. This line became known as the James River Division of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad with the easiest grades for hauling coal and other heavy freights.

Chapter LII

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S RAILROAD



THE ROUTE of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway follows that of the James, Greenbrier, New, and Kanawha Rivers. The great natural advantages of this route westward were recognized from the earliest days of our national existence. And one of the first great projects of internal improvement which “occupied the minds and stirred the hearts” of American statesmen before the advent of the locomotive was that of extending a series of canals from the waters of the Chesapeake Bay across Virginia and through the Gap in the Allegheny Mountains connecting these rivers onto the Ohio River.

The leader in this great movement was George Washington, hence Virginians proudly refer to the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway as “George Washington’s Railroad.” He foresaw that unless the advanced outposts were bound to the Original Thirteen States by means of transportation and communication they would slip away to foreign powers and the westward expansion of the United States would be halted. In 1784, Washington wrote to Benjamin Harrison, then Governor of Virginia :

It is necessary to supply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together with indissoluble bonds. The Western settlers have no means of coming to us except by long land transportations

and unimproved roads. But smooth the road and make easy the way for them and see how amazing our exports will be increased, and how amply we shall be compensated for the trouble and expense of effecting it.

In May, 1784, following this letter, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an Act for improving the navigation of the James River and incorporating the James River Company with a capital of \$100,000. Washington was elected President of the company, but he never participated in its management which he passed on to Edmund Randolph, Acting President. The same year the General Assembly passed an Act presenting Washington with one hundred shares of stock, per value \$20,000, which Washington gave to Liberty College now the Washington and Lee University.

When the James River Canal was begun, three divisions were contemplated: from Richmond to Lynchburg, Lynchburg to Buchanan, and Buchanan to Covington. On March 16, 1832, the James River and Kanawha Company was incorporated to complete connection between tidewater at Richmond and the navigable waters of the Ohio River either by canal and railroad or by rail entirely. This company succeeded to all the property of the James River Company in June 1835.¹

The organization which merged into what is now the great trunk line of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway began on February 18, 1836, when the Legislature of Virginia granted a charter to the Louisa Railroad Company, with a capital of \$300,000, to build a railroad from a point on the line of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad toward the Louisa Courthouse, a distance of thirty-six miles. The courthouse was reached in 1839, and the road extended to

Gordonsville in 1848. On February 2, 1850, the name was changed to the Virginia Central Railroad Company and the line extended to Charlottesville.

The Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Company had operated the Louisa Railroad to July, 1847, and opposed with legal action the extension of the line from Hanover Junction, the point of contact with the R. F. & P., to Richmond. However, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, to which the case was finally carried, was in favor of the Virginia Central, successor of the Louisa Company. The road was extended to Richmond, twenty-six miles from Hanover Junction (now Doswell's), by January 1, 1851.

From Charlottesville the road was extended to Meechum's River where the Blue Ridge Railroad began. Temporary tracks were laid over the Blue Ridge Mountains at Rockfish Gap while the Blue Ridge Railroad Company was constructing a tunnel through the mountains. The tracks across the mountain connected at Waynesboro with that part of the main track partially completed toward Staunton. The mountain track had very high grades, resulting in several serious accidents.

The Blue Ridge Railroad, a state project entirely, was incorporated March 5, 1849, to construct a line from Meechum's River through the Blue Ridge to Waynesboro. The Board of Public Works placed the eminent French Engineer, Claudius Crozet, in charge. Four tunnels were required, the longest through Rockfish Gap was 4,264 feet in length and cost \$1,700,000. The tunnels were opened to trains in April 1858, and were operated by the Virginia Central Company until July 29, 1870, when it was purchased from the state for \$300,000 by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company.

The Covington & Ohio Railroad was incorporated on February 15, 1853, to build a railroad from Covington to the Ohio River. Considerable work had been done in surveying, grading, tunneling, and securing rights of way even so far as Cabell County on the Ohio River, when the war broke out in 1861. At that time \$3,000,000 had been spent with no part of the line completed.

At the close of the war, Virginia had been divided, a large part of the route of the railroad on which Virginia had spent \$550,000 lay within West Virginia. Commissioners from each state were appointed, however, and similar Acts passed by the two Legislatures for the completion of the road which was undertaken by the Virginia Central Company. The consolidation of this line with the Covington & Ohio on August 31, 1868, resulted in the adoption of a new name, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company.²

A contract was signed authorizing a capitalization of \$30,000,000 of stock for the new company. The cost of completing the road was estimated at \$10,000,000, the money to come from the sale of 30-year, seven per cent mortgage bonds. The Chesapeake & Ohio Company then undertook to complete the mountain division, and with the use of temporary tracks at the Lewis Tunnel and Jerry's Fill, the road was opened to White Sulphur Springs, 227 miles from Richmond, on July 1, 1869.³

The Directors found that contracts existing for the construction of the road to White Sulphur Springs involved an expenditure of nearly a million dollars including a considerable amount of unpaid claims upon the same account. To meet these claims and liabilities no means had been provided except the seven per cent mortgage bonds.⁴

The bonds moved slowly, however, and the funds made available to the new company were insufficient to meet the initial expenditures of \$1,000,000 and unpaid claims for the construction between Covington and White Sulphur. It was then that the officials decided to approach Mr. Huntington on the subject.

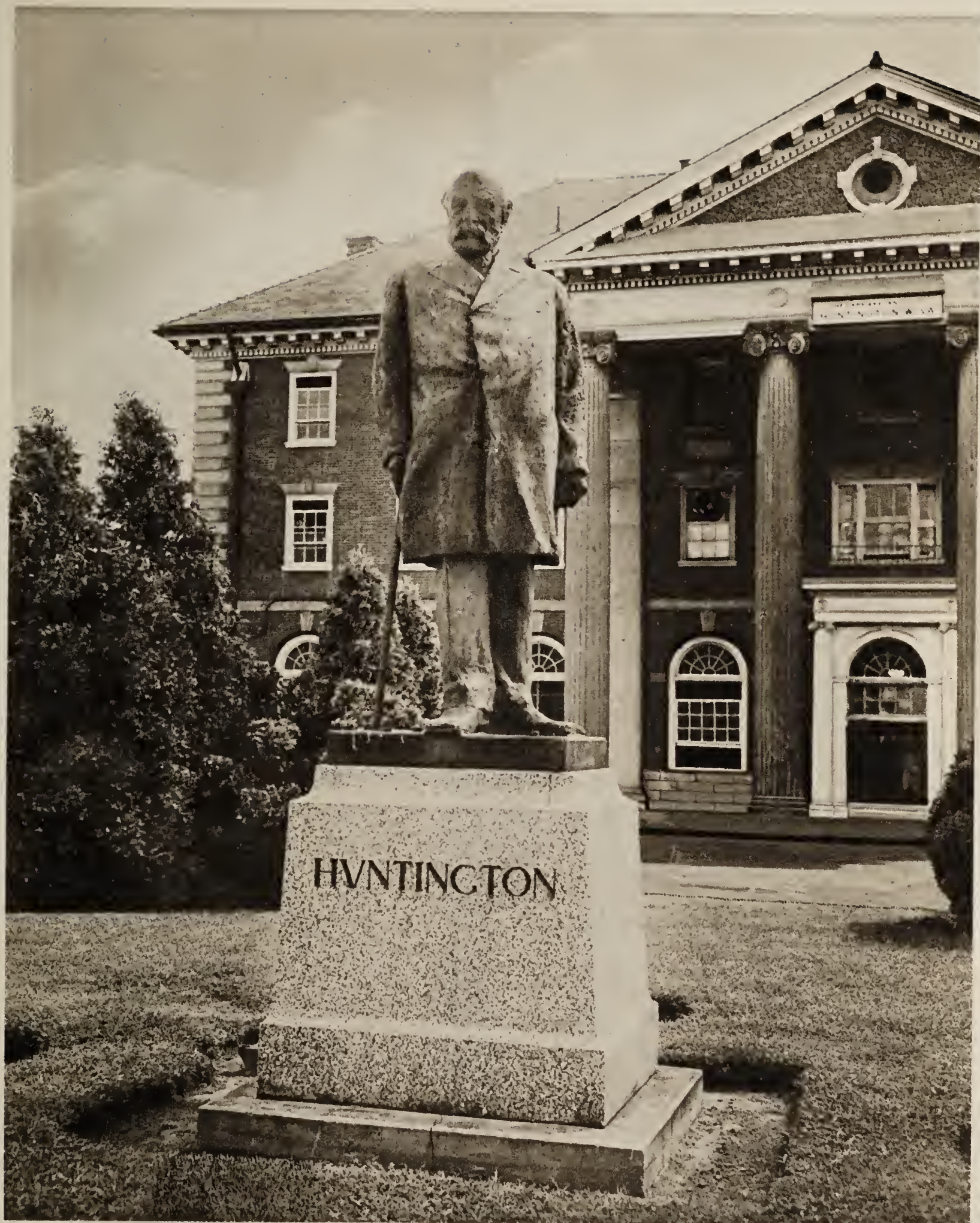
Chapter LIII

THE FOUNDING OF HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA



AFTER MR. HUNTINGTON had assumed the Presidency of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company, one of the first things that engaged his attention was the location of a terminus for the railroad on the Ohio River. He sent to Oneonta, New York, for Colonel Delos W. Emmons, his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of Mrs. Huntington, and in whom he had implicit confidence, to take a trip with him along the route proposed for the railroad to the Ohio River with the site for a terminus in mind. Accompanied by General Wickham, General Echols, Major H. D. Whitcomb, chief engineer, and others, they explored the route thoroughly. There being no highway along the New River from Hinton, they engaged two men for the sum of ten dollars to take them down the river to Hawk's Nest in a 60-foot bateau.¹

Several locations were considered for the terminus, among them a point at the mouth of the Big Sandy River where it flows into the Ohio, the village of Ceredo, and the town of Guyandot on the Ohio at the mouth of the Guyandot River. A story is current among the "historians" of the region that Guyandot lost the terminal because of an incident that occurred during this tour. The party had tied their horses to hitching posts provided by the town and explored the place



COURTESY OF MR. R. VAN BLARICOM

*Statue of Collis Potter Huntington,
Executed by Gutzon Borglum, in Huntington, West Virginia*



COURTESY OF THE CHESAPEAKE & OHIO RAILWAY COMPANY

S.S. Fleetwood of the Cincinnati, Big Sandy and Pomeroy Packet Company

on foot. Mr. Huntington's horse backed around on the sidewalk, obstructing the passing of pedestrians, and for this he was required by the Mayor to pay a fine of five dollars. For this act of injustice, so they say, Guyandot lost the terminal.²

After exploring the area thoroughly, it was the consensus of opinion that the stretch of land along the Ohio River west of Guyandot which included an anchorage known as Holderby's Landing, was best suited for the purpose. There was a frontage of four miles on the Ohio River and a width of one mile on the Guyandot River. The site was in close proximity to timber, coal fields, iron mines, oil, and natural gas, furnishing advantages as a manufacturing center. In addition, and of great importance to the railroad, it offered favorable opportunities for connections with steamboat lines to Cincinnati.

Colonel Emmons was placed in charge of procuring the necessary land. He was a good business man and Mr. Huntington's personal representative, and became an outstanding personality in the history of Huntington. With Albert Laidley, a lawyer, options were taken on properties which were mostly farm lands and cheap. Soon nearly five thousand acres had been purchased including land on the north side of the Ohio for the site of a bridge that would be needed in the future. After reserving sufficient ground for the uses of the railroad, rights of way, extensive machine and car shops, engine houses, depots, and accessory buildings for various purposes, the remaining acreage was conveyed to the Central Land Company which had been organized for the purpose. Of this company Mr. Huntington was the president, Colonel Emmons, the general manager, and General John Hunt Oley, land agent.³

Mr. Huntington sent Rufus Cook, an eminent engineer of Boston to the place and during 1870-71, he laid off a city having wide streets, large blocks cut across by convenient alleys, and with lots large enough for dwellings and business houses of all kinds, all of which were outlined on a map that was filed in the Recorder's Office on December 6, 1871. An Act of the West Virginia Legislature passed February 27, 1871, incorporated the City of Huntington. In May, 1871, the Post Office Department recognized the new city and the name of Maple Grove was changed to that of Huntington.

Early in 1871, the people began to come into the new city from all parts of the country, mostly at first from the New England States and New York. During the year a number of industries were established and the city began to grow and take definite shape. The Central Land Company built two rows of houses, one of frame and one of brick for the use of the engineers and others during construction of the railroad and the Chesapeake & Ohio buildings and repair shops in Huntington. These houses were rented later to railroad employes.⁴

Of all the outstanding industries that settled in Huntington, the one that became the most closely identified with the city was that of the Ensign Manufacturing Company organized to engage in the car and foundry business. A charter was acquired on November 1, 1872, the incorporators included C. P. Huntington, D. W. Emmons, Ely Ensign, his half-brother Henry M. Ensign, and several other business men. On March 1, 1899, this plant became an important part of the American Car and Foundry Company to manufacture railway freight cars, mine cars, forgings, etc. Its railway car-wheel foundry had an annual output of 60,000 car wheels.

Another of Mr. Huntington's relatives came early to Huntington. Bradley Waters Foster, who in 1868 had married Mary Lenora Huntington of Oneonta, a niece of Mr. Huntington and a sister of Henry E. Huntington, became engaged in the hardware business and was identified with many of the commercial activities of the city. "B. W. Foster was long a magic name in Huntington; it stood for financial acumen of the highest order."⁵

John D. Yarrington, a brother-in-law of Mr. Huntington, was one of the first conductors in the passenger service and ran the local train from Huntington eastward to the end of construction where the passengers were transferred by stage coach to the end of construction on the eastern portion of the line.

Soon after the Chesapeake & Ohio line from Huntington reached the coal fields, a train load of coal arrived at Huntington every night about twelve o'clock. The coal was put on barges ready for the towboats to take down the Ohio the next day. Sometimes as many as 10,000 bushels of coal were shipped in one day.⁶

1873, as soon as the railroad was completed between Huntington and Richmond, the Cincinnati, Big Sandy, & Pomeroy Packet Company, known as the "White Collar Line" because of the broad white bands at the top of the twin smokestacks of the steamers, began operating between Huntington and Cincinnati, under command of Captain Washington Honshell, probably financed in part by Mr. Huntington himself. Captain Honshell and Mr. Huntington became fast friends. A son of the former married a niece of Mr. Huntington. The railroad company purchased the mammoth wharf built at Huntington for the use of the

Packet steamboats. Famous among the steamboats were the *Fleetwood*, *Bostona*, *Ohio* and *Telegraph*. The line handled all the freight and passenger business between Huntington and Cincinnati and cities along the way until 1882, when the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad reached Cincinnati. At the same time a contract was made with the Memphis Packet Company for transfer of C. & O. freight between Cincinnati and Memphis.⁷

Neighboring towns soon began to look with envious eyes upon the prosperity of the new city. The *Huntington Argus* in an editorial on October 19, 1872, lamented:

Since the creation of the world there has been no city, town, or village which has had so much jealousy, hatred and slurs cast upon it as has been the ill-fortune of Huntington.

In 1891, Mr. Huntington made a proposal to the Common Council of Huntington for the establishment of a park which was rejected by the Council. The nature of the proposal was not disclosed. Later, efforts were made to secure gifts of land from Mr. Huntington for a park but without success. He joined several others in a contribution toward building a Congregational Church in Huntington, however.

During the period of Mr. Huntington's administration of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company he made many visits to his city on the Ohio. Beside his interest in the railroad, he owned large tracts of land, coal fields, and saw mills along the line. Many of the leading business men of Huntington were his friends and owed their presence there to him. When in Huntington, he always made his headquarters at the hospitable home of his brother-in-law, Colonel Emmons, who had purchased the old Buffering house on the Ohio and

had remodeled it into a pleasant and attractive dwelling.⁸

The City of Huntington has grown steadily into a substantial town of more than 85,000 inhabitants. There are now 17,000 families listed of whom 12,000 own their own homes. Two other railroad lines in addition to the C. & O. pass through the city, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Norfolk & Western, all largely engaged in the transportation of coal. Goods manufactured there amount to \$50,000,000 per year, thus giving employment to many thousands of men. There are schools, a college, libraries, churches, recreation centers, everything necessary for a busy and happy people.

In front of the passenger station at Huntington stands a bronze statue of Collis Potter Huntington, the work of the eminent sculptor Gutzom Borglum, a gift of Mr. Huntington's widow, afterwards Mrs. Henry E. Huntington. The monument was presented to the city, October 23, 1924, on behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Henry E. Huntington, by Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, then and for many years President of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company, one of Mr. Huntington's most remarkable and successful industries, located at Newport News, another city founded by this builder of cities and railroads.

Chapter LIV

THE REORGANIZATION OF 1878



THE CONTEMPLATED EXTENSIONS of the railroad westward toward Louisville and Cincinnati and eastward to a port on the Chesapeake were halted by the extreme business depression throughout the country resulting in the panic of September 1873. Coming so soon after the devastating war and the period of reconstruction, the panic produced a rather desperate situation throughout the South. The great cost of construction amounting to nearly twenty-three and a half million dollars which largely exceeded the original estimates due to the low grades of the road and the substantial character of the work, and the delay in getting the road through to the Ohio and consequent loss of traffic, lessened the earnings of the company which were not sufficient to meet both the expenses of the road and the interest accruing on the bonds due in November, 1873.

No increase in the earnings was in sight until western extensions should be made and a larger traffic produced by the transportation derived from the many industries along the line. It was impossible to borrow money at this time. On September 21, Mr. Huntington who was then making strenuous efforts to save his Central Pacific from default, wrote Mr. Hopkins that the Chesapeake & Ohio would have to ask for an extension, but it was good and would pay all its arrears

sometime. Later he told a Railroad Committee of Congress that he had passed hundreds of sleepless nights thinking where he should get money to build the railroads he had in charge.

The debt of the company on August 31, 1868 was \$2,-418,636. At the end of the fiscal year of 1874-75, two years after the opening of the road to the Ohio, the debt was \$31,199,977. Further expenses and unpaid interest had accumulated and in 1878, the debt had increased to \$35,-132,500. The annual interest on this sum at six per cent was \$2,107,950.

The directors were compelled to ask their bond holders and other creditors to extend the period of payment for three years by funding in new income bonds the interest upon the mortgage bonds and the floating debt. The managers felt that if these financial difficulties were taken care of for a time to allow for the development of the business of the road and its extension to deep water, the ultimate success of the road would be assured, that little difficulty would be found later in procuring the necessary funds to extend the road according to the original plan.

However, a number of the stockholders withheld their assent to the plan, so in 1875, the Board appointed a committee of seven members to devise a plan of reorganization. The deliberations of this committee were halted suddenly, however, by the appointment of Mr. Henry Tyson of Maryland as temporary receiver of the property by the action of the Circuit Court of the United States for the Eastern Division of Virginia and the District of West Virginia.

On October 4, 1875, a bill of complaint had been filed in this Court by three stockholders, A. F. Richards, Morris

Lowenthall, and Charlotte A. Clarke, all of New York State, who together were owners of \$120,000 of the six per cent mortgage bonds of the company, charging fraud and misapplication of funds, and asking for a receiver preliminary to a foreclosure and sale. On October 9, 1875, the Court with Judge Hugh L. Bond presiding, had appointed Henry Tyson of Baltimore temporary receiver of all property of the company, and had appointed the 22nd day of October for a hearing and the appointment of a permanent receiver. On the 9th of October, however, Henry Tyson, accompanied by an U. S. marshal, appeared at the office of General Wickham and demanded immediate possession of all the property. Judge Bond had that morning, without waiting for a hearing appointed Mr. Tyson as temporary receiver.

General Wickham with Judge Robertson, counsel for the company, immediately waited upon Judge Bond and asked for a delay in order that they could be heard, but the request was refused. On October 22, 1875, the company filed its answer to the bill of complaint, signed by C. P. Huntington, President, in which were denied the charges of fraud and misapplication of its revenues as alleged. There was filed also the request of a large number of bondholders, stockholders and other creditors representing about \$23,000,000, that General Wickham be made permanent receiver. On October 30, however, the Court, Judge Bond again presiding, appointed Mr. Tyson permanent receiver. In the Annual Report of the company dated December 14, 1875, Mr. Huntington referred to this appointment as follows:

Your property is now in his hands [Tyson's] and subject to his management. He is a stranger to your president and board of directors, and so far as they are advised, he has no pecuniary interest

whatever in the property, nor have either of his surities, all of whom are non-residents of Virginia and West Virginia. It does not appear just and right that a property of such magnitude and of so great cost could be taken out of the management and control of its rightful owners and placed into the hands of a stranger against the expressed wish of so large a majority of all persons interested in it . . . especially as not a single person asked for the appointment of Mr. Tyson. Your president and directors will therefore use every effort . . . to secure a reversal of the order of the Court.

At the next session of the Court, January 20, 1876, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presiding in the place of Judge Bond, a demand for justice was made which resulted in a complete reversal of the former action of the Court. Mr. Tyson was discharged as receiver and the properties handed back to the company and to General Wickham as permanent receiver.

On March 26, 1877, a decree of foreclosure was rendered by the Circuit Court of Richmond directing the sale of the road. A like decree was rendered by the West Virginia Courts, December 18, 1877. General Wickham was appointed Commissioner to effect the sale, and on April 2, 1878, the properties, franchises, etc., were sold to the Committee of Purchase and Reorganization, A. S. Hatch, chairman, C. P. Huntington, A. A. Low, John Castree, and Isaac Davenport, Jr., at public auction in Richmond for the sum of \$2,700,000. A cash payment of \$200,000 was required within ninety days of the sale. The Committee met the same day for reorganization of the company under a new name, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company.¹

Chapter LV

WESTWARD EXTENSIONS



WHILE THE Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad was being pushed through to the Ohio River, extensions both eastward and westward were being urgently considered by the company. As early as 1871, surveys were made eastward down the peninsula between the James and the York Rivers, and to several points where deep water was available. On February 28, 1872, the West Virginia Legislature authorized the company to extend their lines in West Virginia and other states, to connect with other railroads by purchase of bonds and stocks.

Officials of several proposed railroads approached Mr. Huntington with propositions to build their lines and connect them with the Chesapeake & Ohio. One of them was Colonel W. H. Trimble, president of a proposed line under the name of "Southern Ohio Railroad, the Western and Northwestern Extension of the C. & O. Railroad." This road was planned to extend a distance of 122 miles from Dayton, Ohio, to the mouth of Symmes Creek which enters the Ohio River on the north side opposite Huntington, and had been partially surveyed.

After investigation, Mr. Huntington's reply to this approach written from the C. & O. office in New York, October 20, 1871:

If you can secure the right of way from the mouth of Symmes Creek to Dayton, and subscriptions that will unquestionably be paid to the amount of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$850,000) together with the old work on the line we will build the road.

Colonel Trimble told his people that the proposition of Mr. Huntington was one of the most liberal ever made to any community for the construction of a railroad.¹ On October 1, 1872, Major Whitcomb, C.&O. engineer, reported that a party of engineers under C. G. Dandridge had been employed in surveying the Symmes Creek line, and the line from Hillsboro to Cincinnati.

The Cincinnati *Gazette* for December 14, 1872, carried a letter to the editor from Colonel Trimble in which he quoted the following letter he had received from Mr. Huntington:

It does seem to me that it will be very much to the interests of Portsmouth and Ironton to work with the C. & O. interests and thereby make the grade through these cities a part of the great low grade short line from Cincinnati and the Northwest out to the C. & O. The road could be built from Huntington to Hillsboro via Portsmouth very soon, which would give them an all rail connection with Cincinnati over this line; and when this was done, if the people of Cincinnati and the C. & O. should come to the conclusion that the best way for the City of Cincinnati to reach the C. & O. road is along the river line from Cincinnati to Portsmouth, that line could be built.

It had been reported that surveys for a railroad north of the Ohio River from Huntington to Portsmouth had been made and the surveys were to continue down the Ohio River to Cincinnati. Both this line and that of Trimble's failed to materialize.

"For years the cherished dream of Virginia statesmen had been the opening of direct communication between the

waters of the Chesapeake Bay and the Mississippi Valley, bringing thereby the western and northwestern states in connection with the Atlantic port by the cheapest and most direct route on the American continent."² Mr. Huntington shared this vision, but realized that the Chesapeake & Ohio was utterly unable to raise the immense amount of capital required to own such an extensive system. He decided, therefore, to acquire if possible, the necessary lines himself. He had in mind possible railroads running westward in such an impoverished condition that the owners would gladly relinquish control to someone who would relieve them of the debt and build up the road.

Mr. Huntington acquired first the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy Railroad that had been incorporated on January 29, 1869. In an interview with the Pacific Railroad Committee in 1896, Mr. Huntington said of this transaction:

Then I bought the Big Sandy Line. They told me they would give me that road if I would finish it, and I did. I made a first class property of it.

On February 6, 1871, the E. L. & B. S. had acquired the property and franchise of the western division of the Lexington & Big Sandy, a railroad company that had been incorporated on January 9, 1852, for the purpose of constructing a railroad from Lexington, Kentucky, via Ashland to the Big Sandy River. In time and through successive ownerships the line became divided into two parts: the western division from Lexington to Denton, and the eastern division from Denton to the Big Sandy. The latter division of the Lexington & Big Sandy was renamed the Ashland Coal & Iron Company.³

The Chesapeake & Ohio extended its line from Huntington to the Big Sandy, and was met there in December 1881, by the Elizabethtown, Lexington, and Big Sandy which took over the operation of that section of the Chesapeake & Ohio. The E. L. & B. S. had completed a road from Lexington to Denton, 102.71 miles, and from Ashland to the Big Sandy, 6.50 miles. Trackage rights were leased from the Ashland Coal & Iron Company on their road from Denton to Ashland, a distance of 21.50 miles. On December 12, 1881, the Elizabethtown, Lexington, & Big Sandy Railroad was formally opened, a train passing through from Lexington to Richmond over the main line of the Chesapeake & Ohio.⁴ It was operated as the Lexington Division of the C. & O. from 1881 to 1886 when it was leased to the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company.

A visit of Mr. Huntington to this section during construction is told by one of the engineers:

Mr. Huntington, as was his custom elsewhere, I am told, rode over the line on horseback to make a personal inspection during construction. He came to Triplet Tunnel one cold, snowy day, accompanied by General Echols, vice-president of the company and other gentlemen for lunch. It fell upon me, the Resident Engineer being away, to do the honors. I told Dan, the cook, to bring out the apple brandy and glasses and pass it around. Everyone declined except Mr. Huntington, who was the last that Dan approached. He remarked that he rarely ever took a drink, but on a cold day like this, he would and was surprised at the others for declining. To prevent his drinking alone, I poured out a liberal portion for myself, and wished them good health. There were long faces all around us then! One by one, however, they retired promptly to a back room in the shanty and captured the jug out there, returning with more placid expressions.⁵

And there are writers who claim that Mr. Huntington was entirely devoid of humor!

On January 1, 1880, the *Kentucky Gazette* announced that a syndicate had purchased a controlling interest in the Kentucky Central Railroad, a line to extend from Livingston to Covington, via Winchester. Later in April it was said that the Kentucky Central syndicate had formed an alliance with C. P. Huntington to work in connection with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. Of the purchase of this railroad, Mr. Huntington said:

I bought the Kentucky Central Road. It was an old road, pretty well run down, and I built it up. From Paris to Livingston, seventy miles, was a very heavy road to build. Other parties had begun to build it, but they got out of money and I bought the shares for cash, many of them at ten and twelve per cent. I completed that road and later sold my shares, 45,000 of them.

The Chesapeake & Ohio trains operated between Ashland and Cincinnati over the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy road to Winchester and from thence over the Kentucky Central to Covington, a distance of 203 miles. The first C. & O. train reached Cincinnati over this line in 1882. The high grades on the Kentucky Central were a serious impediment to traffic and profitable operation of trains, however, so that when an opportunity arose for the acquisition of a more direct road with easy grades along the Ohio Valley, Mr. Huntington gladly availed himself of it.

Both Mr. Huntington and the board of directors of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company desired to own the Louisville, Cincinnati, & Lexington Railroad, the so-called Short Line, over which the Chesapeake & Ohio could operate from Lexington to Louisville. When it was offered

for sale they entered into an agreement not to bid against each other but to buy it together, the L. & N. managers to do the negotiating, Mr. Huntington to keep in the background. An offer was obtained at 125 which Mr. Huntington declared was preposterous, to try again for a lower price. The managers of the L. & N. purchased the road at that price, however, and when Mr. Huntington said he was prepared to abide by the contract and furnish his part of the price, he was informed that he was not included in the purchase, that the road was only for the use of the Louisville & Nashville Company.⁶

Mr. Huntington stated publicly that he was badly treated and was determined to push a road through from Lexington to Louisville via Bardstown. However, on December 5, 1881, Mr. Huntington and other officials were in Louisville attending a conference with regard to the use of the Louisville, Cincinnati, & Lexington by the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy from Lexington to Louisville. An agreement was reached by which all transportation between Louisville and Lexington by the E. L. & B. S. was to be turned over to the Louisville & Nashville at Lexington, starting December 28, 1881, for trackage rights only.⁷

On July 30, 1881, the Memphis, Paducah & Northern Railroad, about four hundred miles in length, that had been operating between Louisville and Memphis, was sold under foreclosure to C. P. Huntington and his associates. The New York organization that was formed to complete and operate the road was known as the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad Company. The organization took place at Paducah on August 11, 1881. Mr. Huntington was elected President, General Echols, Vice-President. It was ordered that an un-

finished gap between Trimble and Covington in Tennessee should be immediately completed.⁸ Of this road Mr. Huntington, said:

Then there was the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, 400 miles from Louisville to Memphis. That road remained unfinished so many years without iron being put upon it that the bridges rotted and fell down before I took the road in hand. I took that road when its bonds were selling in Frankfort and Amsterdam at eighteen and twenty cents on the dollar. I bought a good many of the bonds at eighteen and twenty cents on the dollar. I bought the stock almost by the pound, it appeared to be good for nothing. I bought the road and finished it and made a first class road of it, and sold the road for what it was worth.

Before the Chesapeake & Ohio had made connection with Cincinnati via the Elizabethtown, Lexington, & Big Sandy and the Kentucky Central, Mr. Huntington was contemplating a more direct route that could be owned by the C. & O., which would shorten the distance, lessen the heavy grades, and eliminate the revenue paid to the two other roads. At that time the Maysville & Big Sandy Railroad, which had been organized to build a line along the south bank of the Ohio, was in litigation and Mr. Huntington turned his attention in that direction.

The Maysville & Big Sandy Railroad had been organized under a special Act of the Kentucky Legislature on December 18, 1850, and the company began construction in 1853. On January 15, 1873, the company contracted to sell its franchise to the Kentucky & Great Eastern Railway Company which entered into a contract with a construction company to build the road. Seven miles had been constructed in 1874 between Maysville (a town half-way between Ashland and Cincinnati) and Catlettsburg on the Big Sandy River, when the

company became bankrupt. The Maysville & Big Sandy Company took over both the other railroad company and the construction company, and a contest developed in the Courts between the bondholders and the creditors of the contractor.⁹

On March 24, 1880, it was reported "by reliable parties in a position to know" that the roadbed and franchise of the Maysville & Big Sandy had been purchased by Messrs. Huntington and Echols for \$50,000. These two gentlemen with Mr. E. H. Pardee visited Maysville and Cincinnati at that time and in an interview with Mr. Huntington by a newspaper man he was reported to have said that construction on the road would start within fifteen months provided the rights of way were given through the towns of the Ohio Valley on the route, and counties along the line make a reasonable subscription to the capital stock of the company, to be paid when the road was finished and in running order.¹⁰ It was the policy of Mr. Huntington to interest persons along the line of a railroad he was building in purchasing bonds or stocks not only for the additional revenue but to arouse a feeling of ownership in the enterprise.

In April, 1881, Mr. L. M. Lum, a C. & O. engineer, with a corps of assistants began to survey the route from Maysville westward. The next year, Mr. Harry Frazier, who referred to himself as "an instrument man," with a locating party under Colonel C. B. Childs, Chief Engineer, began a survey from Ashland down the Ohio River. Regular construction of the line, however, was not undertaken until 1886.

To facilitate matters, Mr. Huntington had caused the organization of the Contracting & Building Company under the laws of Kentucky, he and his associates being the owners and officers. This company made a contract with the Mays-

ville & Big Sandy Company to build and equip the road from Ashland to Covington, a distance of 142 miles. This company also operated the road from July 1, 1888, to January 1, 1889, when it was taken over by the reorganized Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company.¹¹

While the road was under construction, Mr. Huntington desired to make a tour of inspection of the gradings, culverts, etc., of the railroad bed. For this purpose he chartered the steamboat *Louise* from the Bay Brothers and had her completely refurnished for a trip down the Ohio River. The equipment included eighteen saddle horses for the officials of the party. At Mr. Huntington's order, Captain A. J. McAllister would land the passengers with their horses, and proceed several miles down the river to a given point and wait for the party. At the end of the inspection the boat continued to Cincinnati. Upon the return trip the *Louise* raced with the *Telegraph* most of the way to Huntington.¹²

As the road to Cincinnati would not be complete without a bridge across the Ohio River, Mr. Huntington was instrumental in the incorporation of the Covington & Cincinnati Pier Bridge Company by an Act of the Kentucky Legislature on April 4, 1884. The capital stock of this company was purchased by the C. & O.

On February 12, 1886, this company was joined by the Ohio & Kentucky Bridge Company which had been chartered by the State of Ohio on February 8. The consolidated company under the name of Covington & Cincinnati Elevated Railroad & Transfer & Bridge Company was authorized to build the bridge under an Act of Congress that had been passed on May 25, 1886, and under ordinances of the two cities.¹³

The bridge was 1,550 feet in length, approached by two viaducts, 823 feet in length on the Ohio side, and 1,063 feet on the Kentucky side. The bridge itself consisted of two spans each 775 feet in length riveted to steel trusses. Eppes Randolph was the engineer in charge. The bridge was completed in December 1888, and the first train ran across on Christmas Day. For years it was referred to as the "Great Huntington Bridge."¹⁴ Along with the Cincinnati Division, the bridge was taken over by the newly reorganized C. & O. Company on January 1, 1889.

In the report of the internal commerce of the United States in 1886, the report from Virginia by John D. Imboden includes, in addition to the railroads named above, the following roads as among "the main elements" of the Chesapeake & Ohio System, all operated by a common lessee, the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company: the Chesapeake & Nashville, 220 miles; the Cincinnati, St. Louis & Chicago, 410 miles; and the Mississippi & Tennessee, 99 miles. The report added that the line would soon connect with the Chicago & Northwestern.¹⁵

On November 15, 1887, Mr. Huntington acquired the Kentucky & South Atlantic Railway from Richard P. Ernst, special master commissioner. This was a narrow-gauge road from Mr. Sterling on the C. & O. line from Ashland to Lexington, to Rothwell, Kentucky, a distance of 19.54 miles, built prior to 1882, under the name Mt. Sterling Coal Road. However, this property was conveyed back to the company, July 16, 1888, by a deed signed by both Mr. and Mrs. Huntington. In 1884 a short-line elevated road was built by Mr. Huntington across the river front at Louisville.¹⁶

Several other railroads were acquired by Mr. Huntington which did not form a part of the Chesapeake & Ohio system as shown by the following statements when he was before the Pacific Railroad Committee in 1896:

Chatteroy Road running up the Big Sandy River is another of the roads I took in hand. I commenced to build that road. To put two miles of it in order, crossing Blaine Creek I put in a new bridge and made a straight line of it without grade, and that cost me \$54,000. I bought a road through the canyon, paying cash for it, and sold that seven years ago [1889]. I had thirteen roads on this side of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. I built an elevated road at Louisville. Nearly all these roads were broken down, worthless property, and I made first class property of them.

In July, 1888, Mr. Huntington and General Wickham went on an inspection trip to the Kanawha & Ohio Railroad which they hoped to acquire for the Chesapeake & Ohio with its through connections to Toledo. They also went over the Richmond & Allegheny Road which the directors desired to purchase. This proved to be their farewell trip together: General Wickham died in his office on July 21, a few days after their return. The many years they had worked together in the interests of the Virginia railroads had created a bond of mutual respect and esteem. Some years later, soon after Mr. Huntington's death, Henry Taylor Wickham, General Wickham's only son, in a letter to Mrs. Huntington referred to Mr. Huntington as "one who was the best friend my dear father ever had."

Chapter LVI

THE PENINSULA DIVISION



WHEN THE VIRGINIA CENTRAL and the Covington & Ohio Railroads were consolidated in 1868, under the new name of Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company, it was then planned, as the name indicated, to extend its tracks to deep water at or near Chesapeake Bay, a plan that Mr. Huntington fully endorsed when he became connected with the company. In 1871, the company sent expeditions to various points on estuaries of the bay where good harbors with deep water were available. Five locations were considered, viz: a point near the mouth of the Piankatank River, West Point at the head of the York River at the junction of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, Yorktown near the mouth of the York River, Newport News at the mouth of the James River, and Norfolk on the Elizabeth River. Each of these places had its advocates who were eager to secure the prize. The advantages and disadvantages of the sites were discussed and opinions aired in the press.

A few days after the arrival of Mr. Huntington at White Sulphur Springs in 1869 had been announced, an editorial in a Norfolk newspaper issued a warning against competitors eager to snatch from Norfolk's grasp the rich trade of the interior. . . . "West Point and Newportsnews (*sic*) aspire to carry off the prize."¹ Norfolk made a determined effort to bring the Chesapeake & Ohio line to the Elizabeth River,

sending a committee to interview Mr. Huntington, who they said, gave them no encouragement. The committee received the impression that Mr. Huntington had already selected Newport News for the terminal, not only because of the fine harbor, but because there was no rival line on the peninsula between the James and York Rivers.²

The harbor of Newport News is doubly land-locked. Entrance from the Atlantic must first be made through Capes Charles and Henry, about twelve miles apart; then into the Roads between Old Point Comfort on the north and Willoughby Spit two miles to the south. The Roads has a shore line of about fifty miles in circumference broken by the waters of the James, Nansemond, and Elizabeth Rivers which flow into the harbor. Upon the Elizabeth River at the extreme southern corner lies the old city of Norfolk, settled about the year 1682. On the northern shore at the end of the peninsula between the James and York Rivers, lies Newport News bordering upon both Hampton Roads on the south and James River on the west. The entrance to Hampton Roads is defended by Fortress Monroe at Old Point Comfort and Fort Wool on the Rip Raps between the fort and Willoughby. Newport News is 150 miles nearer the sea than Baltimore, eighty-five miles nearer than Philadelphia, and as near, if not nearer, than New York.

The superiority of Newport News for the terminus over the other localities under consideration was recognized by many persons from the start. In December 1872, it was stated by the *Cincinnati Commercial* that the citizens of Cincinnati were not less interested in the early completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio to deep water than the people of Tidewater Virginia. Newport News had all the advantages that

other localities lacked and none of the disadvantages. Depth of water at Piankatank was only nineteen or twenty feet at full tide; West Point was too far up the York River, and as the terminus of the Richmond & York Railroad, it had not prospered, it was a mistake not to have extended that road to Newport News in the first place; Yorktown had sufficient depth of water, but was too much exposed to the east-north-east winds that came sweeping across the Chesapeake and Mobjack Bays for coastal ships; at Newport News all kinds of vessels could be protected from all kinds of wind and weather. The article goes on to quote a naval officer who had assisted in making a hydrographic survey of Newport News:

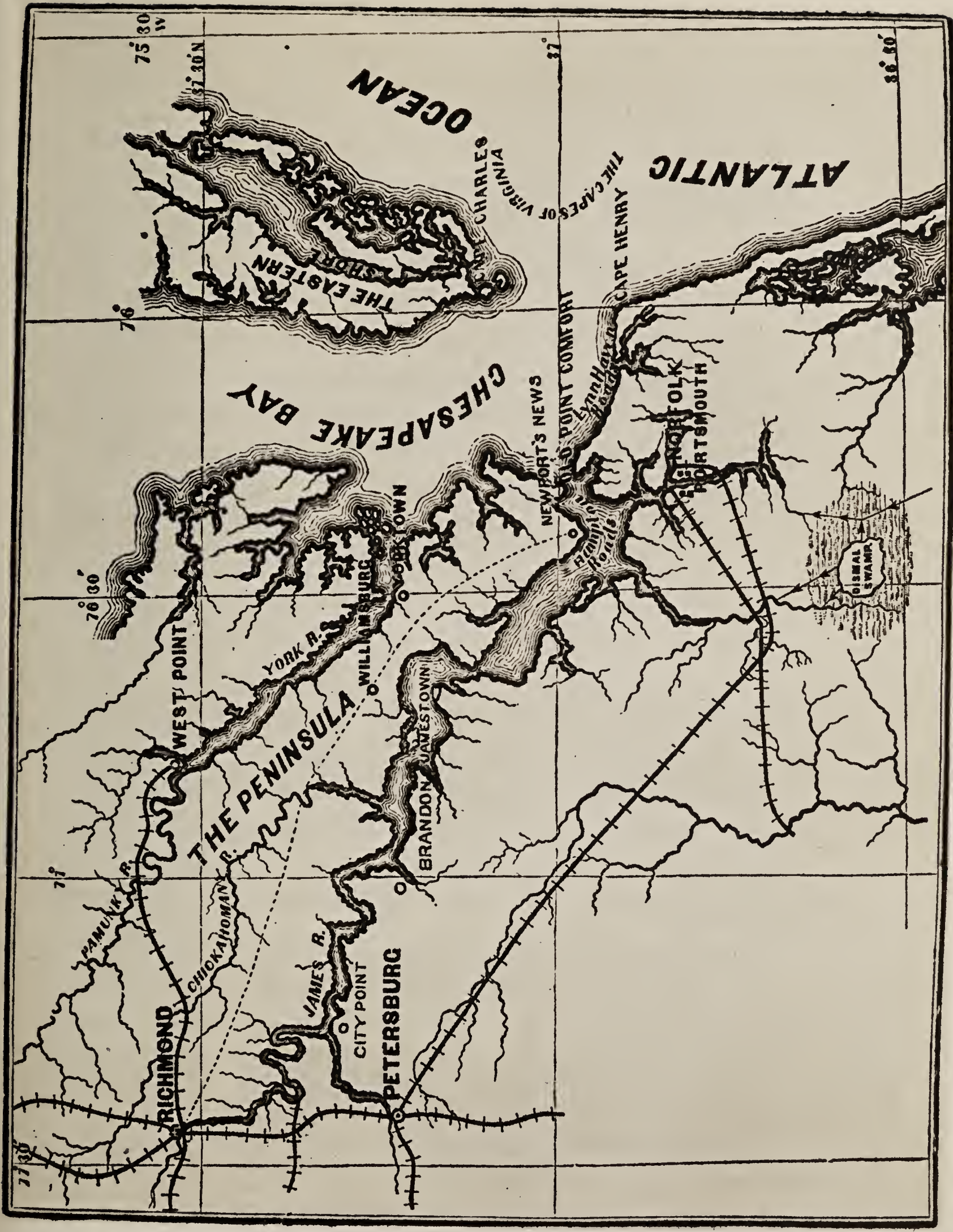
I think Newport News possesses all the advantages of New York Harbor with the additional ones of a safer approach from the sea, easier entrance and greater freedom from fogs and ice. I think the harbor of Newport News will exhibit a peculiar and remarkable adaptation to the present need of Virginia.

Mr. Huntington was convinced that Newport News was by far the best place for the terminus, and in 1872, without waiting for a decision by the directors or an Act by the State, he with "a few chosen associates" began quietly to buy up tracts of land in the area. When it became known in New York that he was purchasing thousands of acres of land in this part of Virginia, many of his friends wondered what he expected to do with a "tract crossed by cow paths," and he would answer with a grim smile, "It's the best half-acre in the world."³

An article in *Scribner's Monthly* for December, 1872, announced that Newport News had already been selected for the terminus of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad and its future was pictured in the following words:

The point now called Newport's News has been selected as the eastern deep water terminus of the great Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. . . . Nowhere on the four continents is there a more magnificent expanse of land-locked water than this Hampton Roads in which the navies of the world might ride at their moorings, the largest ships of all the oceans may come and go at pleasure without waiting for flood tides to insure sufficient depth of water. . . . What a change, indeed, may it not be predicted with confidence, will be wrought in the aspect of Hampton Roads by the completion of the railroad to the Great West! Here within a cannon shot and in sight of the great ocean, yet in the safest of harbors, alongside the piers and docks of a growing mart of trade, will lie a flotilla of which a part may well consist of English ships coming for iron and coal from the inexhaustible mines that lie in the mountain regions of Virginia. Here grain elevators as extensive as those of Chicago will rise above the sandy strip of shore, and vast ware houses piled with the exports and imports of many hundred thousand square miles of territory will front the open roadstead. Here the future shipping trade of Richmond, which is destined to be the Birmingham to the Liverpool of Newport's News, will be carried on a large merchant navy of its own. Is this only a dream?⁴

In 1873, Major Robert W. Temple and his crew of engineers surveyed a line for the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad from Richmond down the peninsula to the mouth of the James River. The acute business depression and panic of 1873 prevented any permanent construction in that direction for several years. Mr. Huntington repeatedly reminded the directors and stockholders that the success of the railroad depended upon both eastward and westward extensions. Serious consideration was given to the Yorktown site by the directors because of the shorter length of track required, but speculators gained control of a large acreage necessary to the terminus, and the extension of the line was delayed.



Proposed Route of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad from Richmond to Newport News, 1872

Chesapeake Dry Dock & Construction Company

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

Dock located on Hampton Roads, Va., U. S. A., 24 miles from Cape Henry. Accessible at all times and at any stage of the tide to vessels of the largest type, which can be docked either light or laden.

DIMENSIONS OF DOCK:

Length on top	- - - - -	600 feet.
Width " "	- - - - -	130 "
" " bottom	- - - - -	50 "
" at entrance	- - - - -	93 "
Draught of water over sill	- - - - -	25 "

Time required for pumping dock out, one hour and thirty minutes.

Repairs of all kinds made quickly, and at reasonable rates.

Prompt attention given to vessels in distress.

Contracts entered into for the construction of iron hulls and engines.

The largest coaling station on the Atlantic Coast is within one-half mile of the Dry Dock.

For further particulars, address

C. B. ORCUTT, PRES.,

No. 1 Broadway, New York.

After the reorganization of the company in 1878, Mr. Huntington's strong preference for Newport News for the terminus brought about the decision in its favor. In 1879, an Act of the General Assembly authorized the line to extend down the peninsula to Newport News. Some citizens of the nearby town of Hampton, many of whom owned land desired by the railroad company, organized the Newport News Land Company early in February, 1880, and sent a committee to negotiate with Mr. Huntington and other directors of the railroad, offering "great inducements" in order to secure the terminus at Newport News.⁵ In his annual report for September 30, 1880, Mr. Huntington stated some of the advantages of having the eastern terminus at Newport News and the work that had been started in that direction:

After much research and deliberation on the subject of a suitable point on the lower Chesapeake waters for a terminus, the directors authorized me to acquire sufficient ground and waterfront for the purpose at Newport News Point fronting on Hampton Roads at the confluence of the James River with the waters of the great bay and within sight of the ocean; and the company has accordingly signified its acceptance of the Act of the Assembly passed in 1879 for that object.

This is a point so designed and adapted by nature that it will require comparatively little at the hands of man to fit it for our purpose. The roadstead, well known to all maritime circles, is large enough to float the ocean commerce of the world; it is easily approached in all winds and weather without pilot or tow; it is never troubled by ice, and there is enough depth of water to float any ship that sails the seas; and at the same time it is so sheltered that vessels can lie there in perfect safety at all times of the year.

Lands have been secured having considerable frontage on deep water, and two wharves contracted for to extend out to 25 feet of water at low tide, with the necessary coal tipples and chutes for

coaling both regular and coast-wise vessels in the trade and other vessels wanting fuel; and with the most approved facilities for handling and transfer of general merchandise and agricultural products. The work of construction down the peninsula has commenced and should be completed by the last of July, 1881. These works completed, your road will have its trunk end resting upon perhaps the finest harbor in the world, its main stem extending by easy grades through the rich iron and coal fields of the two Virginias, and its western extension penetrating the fertile Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, affording the best line over which to transport their products out to the sea on their way to coastwise and European markets.

No other person has ever had a higher estimate of the potentialities of the location of Newport News and its harbor than Mr. Huntington, and no individual, company or association has ever done more than a fraction as much to develop the port as Mr. Huntington did. And had not his purpose been thwarted, Newport News might have become one of the greatest seaports in the country.

To take over the purchases and options acquired at Newport News, the Old Dominion Land Company was organized on October 19, 1880. The charter authorized a minimum capital stock of \$200,000, a maximum of \$4,000,000, and a maximum of 50,000 acres of land. The officers were C. P. Huntington, president; A. S. Hatch, vice-president; James H. Storrs, secretary; I. E. Gates, treasurer; Theodore Livezey, superintendent; and C. B. Orcutt, agent with an office in New York. The Board of Directors were C. P. Huntington, A. S. Hatch, James H. Storrs, A. A. Low, all of New York, and John Stewart of Virginia. Other members of the Land Company included Harvey Fisk and Frank Storrs. In addition to the large amount of land needed for the railroad terminus and its facilities and their future growth, Mr. Hunt-

ington had in mind the establishment of a city with all the essentials of community life, as had been done at Huntington, West Virginia. The Old Dominion Land Company was a dominant factor in founding Newport News, and for many years in the extension of its activities there.

In October, 1880, James P. Nelson, engineer, and his staff were transferred from Huntington, West Virginia, to Richmond and directed to retrace the Temple survey of 1873. From the note book and maps of the original survey, the line was easily picked up. Mr. Nelson and his corps resurveyed and established the line 50 miles from Richmond to Lee Hall, a point about ten miles east of Williamsburg. From there it was surveyed by Colonel Carter M. Braxton, a former engineer of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad. Major George McKendree had been appointed Chief Engineer, but he soon resigned and was succeeded by Captain J. S. Morrison. The Peninsula Extension was built by an organization of the railroad company and not by contract. Ample means were provided for the construction of the road and for the erection of wharves, warehouses, yards, etc.⁶

Construction in Newport News began in December 1880, upon the arrival of a construction force by team from Old Point Comfort where they had landed. Under the management of I. Eugene White, a contractor from New York, assisted by Walter A. Post (who was to become an important official of the city), terminal wharves and two piers were built during the year 1881.

The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown was scheduled to be held at that place on October 19, 1881. The Chesapeake & Ohio Company had promised to lay temporary tracks from

the main line at Lee Hall to Yorktown to convey passengers for this event, and strenuous efforts had to be made to carry out the program. Labor troubles and wet weather delayed progress on the work. In June, 1881, about 1,000 German immigrants newly arrived in New York were sent to the peninsula to work on the railroad.⁷ Major J. J. Gordon, superintendent of construction, worked day and night to complete the road on time. On October 14, 1881, the first locomotive arrived at Newport News on a schooner and was sent over the road to Williamsburg where it stopped at the Capitol grounds. To hasten the work, temporary tracks were laid down the Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg.

The last spike connecting the two parts of the tract into a completed railroad was driven by Major Gordon on Sunday, October 16, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at a point between Williamsburg and Ewell's station, and on the same day supply trains ran through from Richmond to Newport News. On October 18, six trains ran through the Duke of Gloucester Street and on to Yorktown carrying passengers and troops in readiness for the Centennial Celebration the next day. A freight train with thirty heavily loaded cars, also passed over the tracks. The celebration of the completion of the railroad down the peninsula was held in connection with the Yorktown festivities.

A train left Newport News on October 19, carrying passengers to Yorktown, some of whom had come from Norfolk that morning on the small steamer *Ariel* of the Virginia Navigation Company, the first steamboat to cross Hampton Roads and make connection with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway. The *Ariel* ran as a day boat to Richmond, going up the river one day and returning to Norfolk the next.

From October 19, 1881, Newport News was included in her regular runs.⁸ Water communications at both ends of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway had been established.

The temporary tracks of the Yorktown Railroad were laid just north of Lee Hall, crossed the Yorktown highway, and terminated at the entrance to the cemetery. When the celebration was over, the citizens of both York and Warwick Counties strongly objected to the removal of the tracks as scheduled, and prepared to file suit for a court injunction to prevent their removal. The railway company learned of the contemplated action, however, and one Sunday night quietly took up the entire track, loaded the materials on freight cars and hauled them back to the main line, to the great indignation of those citizens.⁹

In 1882, a branch line was extended from Newport News to the boundary of the United States Military Reservation at Old Point Comfort, via Hampton, to accommodate the passengers, mail, and express to and from that point. It was announced in the Annual Report for that year that the entire main line of the Chesapeake & Ohio had been laid with steel rails and the roadbed and track were in a condition to compare favorably with any other single track road in the country.

The next year, 1883, Mr. Huntington made a personal inspection of the railroad and pronounced the main line from Newport News to Huntington in excellent condition with steel rails throughout, the tracks well drained and ballasted. Double tracking the road had been started that year with the small beginning of one and a half miles from Fayette Station on the New River working eastward.

Chapter LVII

NEWPORT NEWS TERMINAL IN OPERATION



AS SOON as the Directors of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company had agreed to Mr. Huntington's strong preference for Newport News as the deep water terminus and sufficient land had been acquired for that purpose and the city to be built in connection therewith, attention was centered on means for water transportation of freight and passengers delivered by the railroad and facilities for their transfer. Piers suited to the different purposes had to be provided and arrangements made with various ship lines to make regular stops at the new port.

Two piers were constructed in 1881 under the management of Messrs. White and Post. The first was a large covered pier for general merchandise, 700 feet in length and 132 feet in width, having a double track running through the center, and abutting upon twenty-seven feet of water. The second was a coal pier of "a novel and ingenious plan, 825 feet long and 50 feet wide fronting on thirty feet of water, and so arranged that six vessels can be moored alongside and receive their cargoes from twelve delivery chutes at the same time."¹

In addition to the two piers for merchandise and coal, a large "coal pocket" was built in the rear of the coal pier for storage of coal brought by trains from the mines and held in

readiness for incoming vessels. The great weight of the coal, however, caused the pocket to sink several feet and the project was abandoned.

After the Yorktown celebration, the railroad of the Peninsula Division, not yet being in a stable condition, was closed to regular traffic and occupied only by construction trains and light local traffic until May 1, 1882, when regular service began. The influence of the new deepwater terminus was soon felt, particularly in the coal traffic, by furnishing a market for supplying both fuel and cargo to ships. The first vessel to coal at the new pier was the schooner *William H. Kenzel* of New York, in August 1882, followed by one of the first vessels belonging to the C. & O., the collier *Kanawha*. From August to the end of the year, one hundred six steamships coaled at the Newport News wharf. A total of 105,573 tons of coal were shipped there during the year.

This amount was by no means the total tonnage of coal hauled by the railroad during the year, however. Since before 1873, coal from the New River and Kanawha coal fields had been shipped westward to Huntington for transfer to the river steamers and barges; and after 1873, eastward to Richmond and the Fulton Street pier for transfer to tidewater vessels—small steamers, schooners, etc., to be carried down the James River. Large quantities were sent to interior cities by transfer to other railroad lines. Coal thus shipped amounted in 1881 to 587,430 tons; in 1882, to 682,412 tons exclusive of the 105,573 tons shipped at the Newport News pier.²

Since that first coaling of ships in August 1882, the growth of the coal traffic at Newport News, and the facilities for handling it have been phenomenal. A new \$8,000,000 coal

pier has been erected with every known automatic mechanism. During the year 1951, 36,363,238 tons of coal were dumped at piers in the Hampton Roads region³ of which fifty per cent was handled by the C. & O. piers at Newport News. "Over 71 million tons of coal were hauled by C. & O. trains from mines on its lines in 1851." At the same time the C. & O. handled nearly as many carloads of merchandise.⁴

A grain elevator having a capacity of 1,500,000 bushels and considered an essential feature of the terminal was built in 1882, for \$500,000 by contract with the Chesapeake & Ohio Grain Elevator Company, a corporation composed largely of grain merchants headed by Joseph Hazeltine. Ships were loaded by means of conveyor belts which carried grain from both sides of the elevator to the pier and by means of chutes into the holds of ships. It was said that the earnings from the elevator were not sufficient to pay the expenses of operation, taxes, and interest on the mortgage bonds, yet in 1899, Elevator B was erected at the head of Pier 8. Elevator A was burned in September 1915, which reduced considerably the export of grain from the Newport News port.

In 1883, a pier for through passenger service across Hampton Roads between Newport News and Norfolk was constructed and regular ferry service inaugurated. The small side-wheel steamboats *Northampton* and *Luray* of the Old Dominion Line were first chartered for ferry service, but in 1884, the steamboat *John Romer* was purchased, making her first trip from Newport News to Norfolk on June 7, 1884, maintaining thereafter a regular schedule of two trips a day in each direction. Two stories were told about this vessel which persist to this day although repeatedly refuted by authorities. Mr. Huntington saw the vessel steaming up the

Hudson, so the story went, and was so impressed with her beauty that he purchased her for the railroad. The truth of the matter was that the C. & O. purchased the *John Romer* in Boston where the Nantasket Beach Company operated her between Boston and Hingham. In May 1884, the company sent Captain James H. Topham to Boston to bring her to Newport News.⁵ Another story was that the profits made by this vessel went to Mrs. Huntington for pin money. However, it is well-known that any "profits" made by any property of the C. & O. at that time were likely to become at once a part of the listed assets of the company. Later the *John Romer* became the *Louise*, a name by which she was much better known.

A site at the foot of Brooke Avenue in Norfolk was acquired by the company and a wharf erected for the passenger service between the two cities. In connection therewith was purchased land for a trackage yard and terminal facilities, where freight from the C. & O. trains were brought on car floats. The tug *Grace Meade* and the barges *Gallego*, *Crenshaw*, and *Utility* were purchased for operation on Hampton Roads.

A third pier, 800 feet long and 162 feet wide, designed for the Old Dominion Steamship Company for use as a passenger pier, was completed in 1883. The SS *Manhattan* of this line made regular stops at Newport News on the run from New York, Norfolk and Richmond and the return trip. One hundred seventy-seven ocean steamships were supplied with fuel during 1883. Total shipments of coal by the C. & O. Railroad from all points for the year 1883 totaled 830,813 tons, including 220,188 tons handled at the Newport News piers.

The United States & Brazil Mail Steamship Company was organized in 1883 with the following officers: John Roach, president, C. P. Huntington, vice-president, and Sidney W. Rowell, secretary and treasurer. Some leading commercial houses in South America were said to be financially interested, also. Six steamships were built by John Roach for this company, the *Seguranca* and the *Vigilanca*, twin ships of 4,100 tons, and the *Allianca* of 3,000 tons; the *Advance*, the *Finance*, and the *Reliance* of over 2,600 tons. The ships ran on a regular monthly schedule from New York via Newport News to St. Thomas, Para, Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio Janerio and return.⁶ The arrival of one of these ships from Brazil at Newport News was an interesting event. Exports from along the C. & O. Line, principally grain and flour, were loaded at the local port. 104,800 barrels of flour were shipped to Brazil in 1883. From April 1 to April 21, cargo to the value of \$57,704.96 was shipped on this line from Newport News.⁷ Unfortunately, without government aid, the line was unable to compete with subsidized lines under foreign flags and it had to be discontinued in 1892.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway began using refrigerator cars in 1883, to supply Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis and other inland cities with the fish, oysters and other seafood that grew so abundantly in the waters of the Hampton Roads area. Also, sent in these cars were the small fruits and vegetables that mature early in the mild climate around Hampton Roads.⁸

The business depression of 1884 affected materially the shipments at the Newport News port. One notable gain during the year, however, was in the exports of cotton from along the line between Memphis and New Orleans. Ship-

ments of coal were less than the previous year by more than 100,000 tons. The next year, however, showed a considerable gain, and it was found necessary to erect an additional coal pier 275 feet in length, to lay a considerable number of new tracks in the railroad yard, and to provide additional room for export freight.

The large shipments of grain on sailing vessels and chartered steamships to Europe from Hampton Roads had convinced Mr. Huntington that a regular line of steamships, independent of other ports, was advisable. His Annual Report to the stockholders for the year ending December 31, 1887, contained an account of what had been done in that direction:

With a view to increasing west bound tonnage and securing prompt and reliable transportation for the large export business seeking Newport News, arrangements were made at the beginning of the year for a direct line of steamships between Newport News and Liverpool. It was expected that, like similar enterprises, this line would for a time be run at a loss, but that in the near future it would become self-sustaining. The lessee's proportion of the loss therefrom during the year was \$119,451.68, but the amount of this loss was diminishing monthly as the line became better known. In this connection it should be borne in mind that a considerable amount of east and west bound business has been secured to the railroad which could not otherwise have been obtained, and it is manifestly to the interest of the road to maintain a direct line of steamships from Newport News.

The fleet of steamships for this line were the *Florida*, the *City of Manchester*, the *Duke of Buckingham*, and the *Duke of Westminster*, and it became known both as the "Huntington Line" and the "Duke Line." R. T. Cortes, formerly of the White Star Line, acted as agent for the

C. & O. in connection with this steamship line. When the control of the C. & O. passed out of Mr. Huntington's hands, this steamship line was discontinued.

In 1890, under other management, "seeing the necessity of a steamship line from Newport News to Europe," a contract was made with the owners of a line to operate from Newport News to England with semi-monthly sailings. This arrangement, proving unsuccessful, was discontinued, and the C. & O. interests sold in 1905.

Soon after the railroad reached Newport News, there was organized the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Coal Company, a coal agency to buy coal lands and control the mining, shipment and sale of the coal from these lands. Later the Chesapeake & Ohio Coal Agency was organized and other agencies having no connection with the Railway Company. Keen competition existed among these companies for the lucrative profits made in coal contracts. Some members of these agencies became very wealthy.⁹

Considerable opposition was manifested against these coal agencies, especially against that of the railroad, by the localities in which the coal lands lay. Governor Wilson of West Virginia on March 11, 1888, wrote a letter to General Wickham in which he said:

The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company through its officers have systematically planned to prevent all independent shipments east and destroy all competition with the Agency. This has been accomplished against West Virginia's greatest industry. The lands and the products thereof belong to the people, and the various industries are theirs. The C. & O. deliberately plans that our progress and development shall be held within the limits of its discretion.¹⁰

The facilities of the port were in demand by the Government during each of the three wars in which the country has been engaged since the port of Newport News was established. Troops for the front embarked at the port during the Spanish-American War from encampments located on the shore. During World War I, hundreds of thousands of troops were sent across from this port, thousands of horses and mules and thousands of tons of supplies including engineering materials were shipped. A large number of troops returned through this port. Several large cantonments were established here.

As the Port of Embarkation and Debarkation for World War II, nearly a million troops and over twelve million tons of cargo passed over the Newport News piers en route overseas. To tell even a part of what was accomplished required two large volumes.¹¹ It is interesting to note that the essential factor in the selection of the port for this service was the presence of the six large piers extending out into deep water belonging to the C. & O. The nearby shipyard was another important consideration.

A comparison of the general activities of the port of Newport News in peace time with the extensive activities carried on during the war reveals what a small part of its potentialities are ordinarily utilized.

Chapter LVIII

THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF NEWPORT NEWS



IN NOVEMBER, 1619, the English settlers in Kecoughtan (Hampton) were forced to give up their homes to new arrivals sent to the Colony by the Virginia Company of London in the ship *Bona Nova* under the command of Captain Thomas Newce. As compensation, the old settlers were permitted to choose lands for new homes "alonge the banke of the great river betweene Kecoughtan and Newport's News." This record of the company was dated November 11, 1619, and contains the first mention of the name "Newport's News" yet known.¹

From this record we learn that two hundred and sixty years before the founding of the city by Collis P. Huntington, Newport News was a known locality with a name that has intrigued the interest of many persons and about which numerous articles have been written.² Situated at the end of the Peninsula, at the mouth of the James River and directly on the deep waters of Hampton Roads, within fifteen miles of the Capes, it is nearer the open sea on one hand and the centers of population on the other than any of the other principal Atlantic ports.

Mr. Huntington had first visited Newport News in 1837 when a traveling salesman sixteen years of age. He thought

then, so he said later, that there was no better place in the country for a city.

The business men from the North sent here by Mr. Huntington to aid in establishing the city and the C. & O. terminus marveled that a place "so designed and adapted by nature" to industrial settlement should have remained so long overlooked. Two reasons are given by one historian³ for the avoidance of any large settlement at Newport News in the early years: the small size of the trading ships, and the need of settlers for protection against probable raids by Spanish vessels and pirates. Hence colonial settlements were made at Jamestown, Hampton, Norfolk and other sheltered places. However, this does not explain the dearth of industrial interest in the magnificent port after 1781.

Before the War Between the States, Newport News "was settled by a happy and contented company of prosperous farmers," as described by one of the residents,⁴ "with comfortable homes, loving families, well-tilled and fertile fields. None were rich, but all well-to-do and on equal social terms." The schooners trading in the James River were small and only a few anchored in the Roads, but in an easterly spell there were often more than a hundred small sailing vessels anchored close under the shore. Farm products, fruit and seafood were shipped on these vessels.

Each farm had a woodland and there was a large trade in cordwood, the schooners carrying from 80 to 100 cords. Fishing was also an important occupation. Many of the boats used were built by the residents of the peninsula.

Two piers are known to have been built on the James River side of Newport News in the early days. The first was built about the year 1851 by Robert B. Bennett, the postmaster,

who established a postoffice in his store at the foot of the pier. The second was built about 1860 by Parker West some distance north of the Bennett pier.

When the war broke out in 1861, the officers at Fort Monroe desired a large field for an encampment of Federal troops. On May 25, General Benjamin B. Butler made a reconnaissance of Newport News about which he wrote:

We landed at a little jetty and climbed up the banks. Here there burst upon my sight one of the finest scenes I ever beheld. At the point nearest the river is a farmer's house shaded by some very fine elms, and a field of some sixty or seventy acres, a perfect plain, covered with a beautiful growth of wheat waving in the wind.

He reported also that Newport News had "two good commodious wharves to which steamers of any draft of water may come up at all stages of the tide."⁵

The Federal troops landed on May 27, and an encampment was established on the wheat fields and other farm lands where the camps remained until the war was over. Then the place was one of desolation and ruin, houses burned, orchards and woodlands destroyed, the fields covered with brambles. Some of the landowners had died within the Confederate lines where they had taken refuge; others did not return, and the place had never recovered its pre-war state when Mr. Huntington began buying up the land.

The Old Dominion Land Company, having control of most of the available land except that which had been set aside for railroad and terminal purposes, laid out the city on an almost level plain twenty-five feet above the shore line. The numbered streets extended east and west starting with First Street at the point bordering upon both Hampton Roads and James River, now known as Point Breeze. The named



Newport News, 1859, Showing Bennett's Pier



Newport News, 1889, Looking North from the C. & O. Grain Elevator

avenues extended north and south, several of which were named for early Virginia statesmen. With the Centennial Celebration in mind, the two principal avenues were named for Washington and Lafayette. The name of the latter was changed to Huntington some years later. It was expected at the time that Newport News would become a large city on a busy port and available land was not unlimited, hence the narrow lots, 25 feet in width by 100 feet in length to accommodate a large number of buildings.

An outline map of the city was made by E. E. McLean, civil engineer, dated April 29, 1881, showing the streets, avenues and numbered blocks. This map was filed with the Warwick County records but appears to have been lost. A later and better known map dated January, 1891, was drawn by Colonel Carter M. Braxton, civil engineer, who assisted in laying out the city, and was later in charge of the excavations at the site of the shipyard.

The Old Dominion Land Company aided in establishing many of the essentials of community life. In 1880, an Union Chapel was erected on 27th Street near West Avenue for the use of all religious denominations until each had sufficient members and means to build a church of its own. The first service in the chapel was held in March, 1881. Also in 1880, the sites for two school buildings were presented to the city, one for white children on 28th Street between Washington and Lafayette Avenues, and the other for Negro children on 22nd Street between Jefferson and Marshall Avenues. Money for the erection of school buildings was advanced but this was repaid later. The site of the Court House at the corner of 25th Street and Lafayette Avenue was also a grant to Warwick County.

A small hotel, the Lafayette House at the corner of 27th Street and Lafayette Avenue, was opened in June 1881 by the Land Company; and on April 11, 1883, the large, four-story Hotel Warwick at 25th Street and West Avenue, built by the Land Company, was opened with a banquet, the C. & O. running a special train for the convenience of the invited guests from Hampton and Old Point. The Lafayette House then became a resident hotel, later a hospital.

The Warwick Hotel soon took its place as the center of many community activities. The Bank of Newport News, renamed the First National, operated there four years before acquiring a building of its own. The first newspaper, *The Wedge*, was published in one of the rooms on the first floor. The only drug store and the barber shop were located there. For four years the hotel served as the seat of Government for Warwick County. By an Act of Congress on June 15, 1882, Newport News was designated as a Customs Port in the district of Yorktown with the Collector of the Port stationed at Newport News in the Warwick Hotel. The business of the post office was also conducted for a time in the hotel.

Stores and other buildings were erected by the Land Company near the terminus for the convenience of workers and accommodation of traffic. It was the policy of Mr. Huntington to extend substantial aid in the establishment of industries in the new city until they were strong enough to carry on themselves. Steadily, step by step, there appeared dwellings, shops, a bank, schools, churches, while the piers and trackage yard of the C. & O. kept growing until \$7,000,000 had been expended to make them as perfect as possible both for outbound and inbound traffic. As Mr. Huntington had visualized, the port was found to be "the natural outlet for

the products of an immense territory extending south, west, and northwest, and the natural receiving point for the distribution of supplies over the same area." Mr. Huntington's intention was to increase steadily the availability of large areas of territory from which the railroad would derive greater earnings and to enlarge the facilities of the port as needed to handle exports and imports in great quantities.

The Old Dominion Land Company was instrumental in organizing the Newport News Light & Water Company which received its charter, August 8, 1889, to provide an adequate supply of water, and to furnish gas and electricity. Water had been obtained from springs and wells which method was very inadequate for a growing city. The first officials of the Light & Water Company were C. P. Huntington, I. E. Gates, F. H. Davis, Edward St. John and C. B. Orcutt.

In the early years due to the mild climate, Newport News was regarded somewhat as a pleasure resort. In 1884, the Warwick Hotel advertised a Casino, a bowling alley, a beach with bath houses, a pleasure pier and refreshment pavilion. The first "pleasure pier" was erected on the beach at the Southern extremity of the city where the waters of Hampton Roads and the James River meet. There was a large dance hall, a wide veranda and a fine pavilion for the accommodation of excursions and picnics.

The growth of the city was slow but steady. The retarding effect of the change in the control of the Chesapeake & Ohio in 1888 might have been more severe but for the establishment in 1886 of a shipyard which has become famous the world over for the superiority of its equipment and the excellence of the ships built there. It was Mr. Huntington's most

highly prized possession. In 1896, Newport News received its charter as a city, Mr. Walter A. Post becoming the first mayor.⁶

Mr. John R. Swinerton, who became the manager of the Warwick Hotel in August 1883, which position he retained seventeen years, in writing an account of earlier conditions in Newport News for a meeting of the Pioneers on January 2, 1914, referred to Mr. Huntington as follows:

Collis Potter Huntington, the founder of Newport News, occasionally spent a day and a night at the Warwick. He was a big man in every sense of the word. Very simple in his habits, very social and democratic, always had time for a chat with everyone in spite of his many millions and his gigantic interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific. After the shipyard was started, he came quite often and usually gave a dinner to the heads of the different departments in the yard.

A former employee in the drafting room of the shipyard, Mr. Almon F. Bowen, tells the following story:

One warm summer day he and Mr. Huntington were sitting together in the day coach on a train from Richmond to Newport News. All the windows of the coach were shut tight and it was insufferably hot. Drawing a nickel from his pocket, Mr. Huntington, with a merry twinkle in his eye, said, "Let's have five cents worth of air." He raised the window slightly, inserted the coin, edge upward, and lowered the window upon it. The two gentlemen looked at each other and laughed.

Chapter LIX

NEWPORT NEWS & MISSISSIPPI VALLEY COMPANY



EARLY IN HIS MANAGEMENT of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, Mr. Huntington contemplated extending a direct line westward across the continent by which the C. & O. would have connections with the western, northwestern and southwestern sections of the country, thereby establishing another transcontinental line with the great port of Hampton Roads at its eastern terminus.

There is in existence a profile of the survey of this proposed railway route extending from Memphis on the Mississippi River to San Pedro on the Pacific Coast as follows: From Memphis to Little Rock and Fort Smith in Arkansas; through the Valley of the Canadian River in Oklahoma; the Valleys of the Rio Grande and Rio San José in New Mexico; the Valley of Colorado Chiquito, across the San Francisco Mountains, the Valley of Big Williams Fork in Arizona; and the Valley of the Colorado River in Arizona and California; continuing in California through the Valley of the Mohave River, the City of Los Angeles to San Pedro. The western part of this route will be recognized as the present route of the Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fé Railroad.

He had in mind, gaining control of the Atlantic & Pacific Railway Company then in difficulties. That company had

been incorporated in 1866 to build a railroad from Springfield, Missouri, to a point on the Canadian River, from there to Albuquerque, then on to the headwaters of the Little Colorado, and from thence along the 35th parallel to the Colorado River and from there along the most practicable and eligible route to the Pacific. An attempt was made to get the San Francisco citizens interested in this road, and they made a great show of doing so, but without success.¹ The panic of 1873 forced the road into the hands of a receiver, and in 1876 the road was in control of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company which came into possession of all the Atlantic & Pacific stocks.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad Company, chartered in 1859, was constructing a road from the Missouri River through Kansas into the State of Colorado and southward toward Mexico, following closely the route of the Santa Fé Trail. The Santa Fé Company was apprehensive over reports that the Southern Pacific was trying to make a deal with the St. Louis & San Francisco which controlled the Atlantic & Pacific. On November 14, 1879, the Santa Fé entered into an agreement with the St. Louis & San Francisco—known as The Frisco Line—by which it was to acquire a half interest in the Atlantic & Pacific, and to provide connection for through traffic of the A. & P. from Wichita, Kansas, and the proposed line west of Albuquerque. It was also agreed that the Santa Fé and The Frisco would unite in financing the construction of the A. & P. west of Albuquerque.

In January 1882, Mr. Huntington telegraphed Mr. Crocker in San Francisco that he had purchased the controlling interest in the St. Louis & San Francisco which gave

him a place on the A. & P. board of directors. In response to this announcement, Mr. Crocker wrote to Mr. Huntington on January 26, as follows:

I received last night your telegram . . . all of which is very gratifying to us as we had about given up all hopes of your being able to do anything with that company. . . . The excitement here over the purchase is considerable.

Following this action of the Southern Pacific, the Santa Fé entered into an agreement with them that the A. & P. would not build beyond the Colorado River. On February 6, 1882, Huntington and Stanford sent a joint dispatch to Charles Crocker directing that a contract be let immediately for building a railroad from Mohave Station on the main line of the Southern Pacific eastward to Needles on the Colorado River, and to put men to work on it at once in order to assist in the negotiations with the Santa Fé. The Southern Pacific line from Mohave to Needles was completed in 1883 and was met there by the Atlantic & Pacific in August of that year. The A. & P. was given trackage rights over the line to Mohave.

During those years, in addition to the construction of the Mohave-Needles Road, the Southern Pacific Company was engaged in pushing the Sunset Route through to New Orleans and the construction of several branch lines, the construction of the California & Oregon Railroad, the Guatemala Central, the Mexican International, the Park & Ocean Railway, and the Market Street Cable Railway. Also, an agreement had been signed with Robert Dunsmuir of British Columbia to construct a railroad in Vancouver. Mr. Huntington had, in addition, the Chesapeake & Ohio System and extensions. These were heavy responsibilities for only two men to carry.

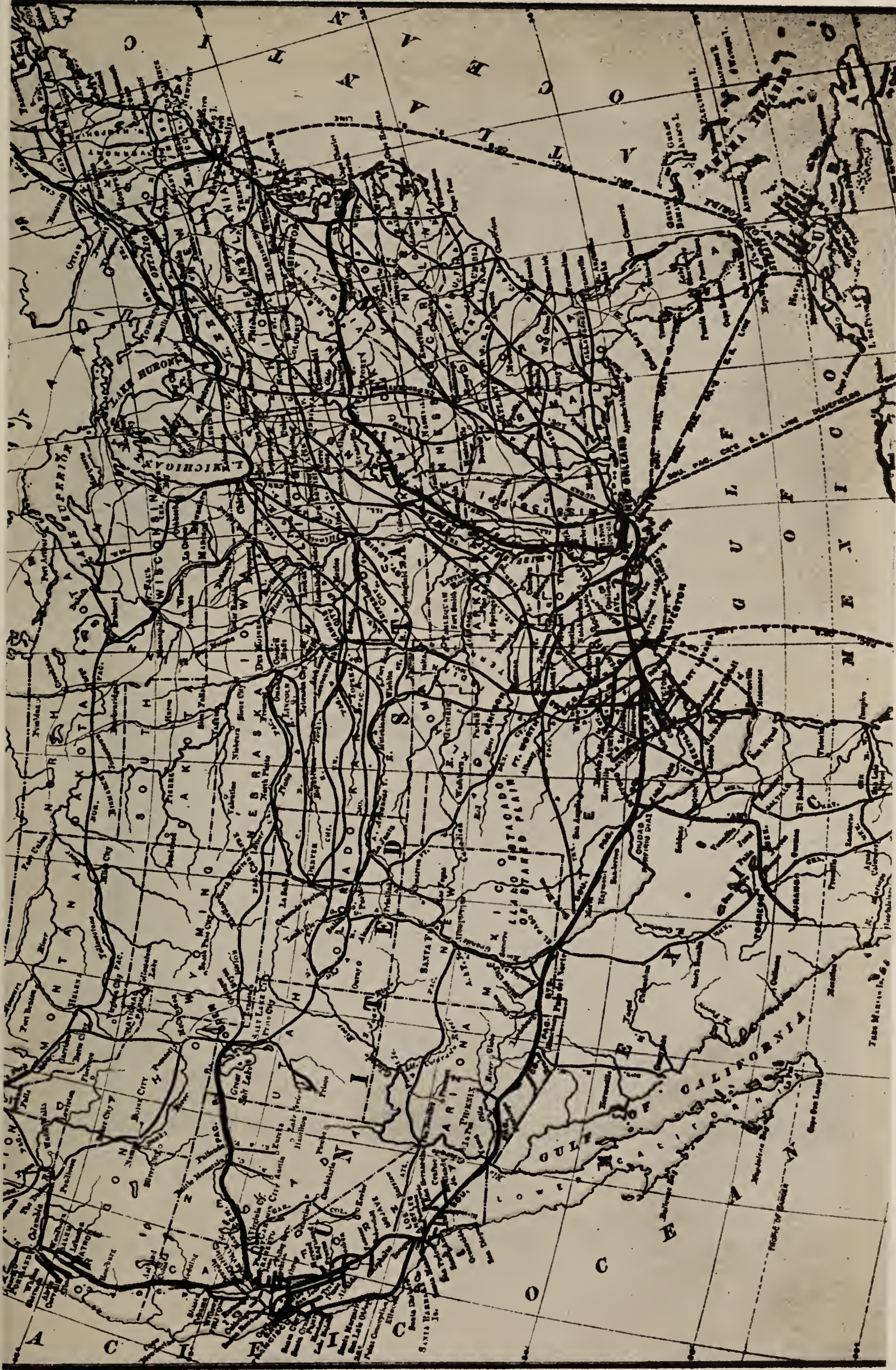
Mr. Hopkins had died in 1878, and Mr. Stanford had become so absorbed in his horse-breeding farm at Palo Alto that he was quite satisfied to have his two associates look after railroad matters.

To reach the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad from Memphis would require 300 or more miles of track. A letter from Charles Crocker to Mr. Huntington on March 7, 1883, in answer to a suggestion that the construction company of the Southern Pacific known as the Pacific Improvement Company might take an interest in this plan, reveals something of the situation:

Referring to your proposition that the Pacific Improvement Company take an interest in your system of roads, I would say that we are not working together as we used to work, and we are considerably weaker. I do not, therefore, feel inclined to go into debt as I would if we were all working together as of old. The obligations that we have already assumed . . . is all that I think we can stand for the next few years.

Governor Stanford seems to be withdrawing from the railroad business. He has not put any of his interest received from railroad securities to his credit on the books of the P. I. Co. for over a year while I have been putting in all of mine as usual, and I believe you have done the same. This weakens us and we are not as strong as we used to be. . . . The Governor is buying a great deal of land here in this county, which of course is his privilege and we have no right to complain, but at the same time this takes from railroad capital.

Mr. Huntington fully realized the heavy burden that would be imposed upon an already overtaxed company by adding the construction of a road west from Memphis to meet the A. & P. This, with the financial depression of 1884, induced him to relinquish his plan for a through line from Newport News to San Francisco via the Atlantic & Pacific.



Map of the United States Showing the Huntington Railroad System Across the Continent in 1887

LIMITED—NOT TRANSFERABLE.

A-20
NEWPORT NEWS AND MISSISSIPPI VALLEY CO.
(EASTERN DIVISION)

Pass

G. M. Nickell

Between

Clifton Forge & Staunton

On account of

Medical Corps

Good until

December 31, 1887

Unless otherwise ordered.

82

W. C. Wickham

2nd Vice-President.

The person accepting this FREE TICKET assumes all risks of accidents, and expressly agrees that the Company shall not be liable, under any circumstances, whether of negligence by their agents or otherwise, for any injury to the person, or for any loss or injury to the property of the passenger using this ticket.

If presented by any other person than the individual named thereon, the Conductor will take up this Ticket and collect fare.

Not good unless signed in ink by the person named in the Pass.

G. M. Nickell

Pass Issued by the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company,
December 31, 1887

Early in 1884 he disposed of his holdings in the St. Louis & San Francisco and the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad Companies. His foresight had already made other arrangements for connecting the Chesapeake & Ohio system with the great West. A new railroad company was organized in which Mr. Crocker was induced to join, and with R. T. Wilson, a Wall Street banker, and others they bought up various unsuccessful companies in the states between Memphis and New Orleans during the year 1883. This was known as the Wilson Road until August 12, 1884, when the different parts were consolidated and the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad Company was incorporated with Mr. Wilson as president. The directors were R. T. Wilson, C. P. Huntington, I. E. Gates, W. M. Johnson, E. H. Pardee and William Mahl, all of New York; J. M. Edwards, Memphis; E. Martin, Vicksburg; and A. C. Hutchinson, New Orleans.

The road was completed in October 1884, and opened for operation on November 1. Except for the gap between Louisville and Lexington, the Huntington Line extended from Newport News on the Chesapeake Bay to New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

The annual report of the Chesapeake & Ohio for December 31, 1884, carried the following comments on the new line by the President:

The opening of the railroad between Memphis and New Orleans by the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad Company will extend your connections to New Orleans and via the Southern Pacific systems to Texas, Mexico, and California. Memphis, Vicksburg and New Orleans will then be connected by a first class, low grade, steel-tracked road of 450 miles on which fast trains can run with great speed and economy, so as to fit it to take its part in con-

nection with your road in the business with the National Capital and the Gulf States, and also to participate in the movement of merchandise between the Atlantic States and the great fertile region of Texas, Mexico and California.

The first annual report of the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad Company made December 31, 1887, shows 580 miles of track including branch lines and sidings. The fourth and last report made June 31, 1891, gives a trackage of 920 miles, an increase of 340 miles in the four years. Of passing interest are the names of the terminals of one of the branch lines: Leland, Mississippi, to Huntington, Mississippi, a distance of 22 miles.

To insure the two great groups of railroads east and west of the Mississippi a harmonious transportation system, smoother operation and all other advantages of consolidation, Mr. Huntington acquired a charter from the Legislature of Kentucky, March 17, 1884, whereby the various Southern Pacific Railroad units were incorporated into the Southern Pacific Company. The Central Pacific Railroad Company was added by lease. Likewise, in the same month of the same year, a charter was obtained from the State of Connecticut to incorporate the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company for the purpose of uniting under one management the following railroads: the Chesapeake & Ohio; the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy; the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern; "and any such other associate railroads as might be built or acquired."² With the exception of 93 miles between Louisville and Lexington belonging to the Louisville & Nashville over which the E. L. & B. S. had only trackage rights, and including the Kentucky Central, the new operating company had an unbroken line from the Atlantic to the

Mississippi, one of the greatest systems of the day. The connecting link between these two great consolidated companies was the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad between Memphis and New Orleans.

The chief officers of the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company were C. P. Huntington, president; I. E. Gates, 1st vice-president; J. D. Yarrington, 2nd vice-president; and General John Echols, 3rd vice-president. The different companies were leased as follows: the Chesapeake & Ohio for 250 years from July 1, 1886; the Elizabeth, Lexington & Big Sandy for 250 years from February 1, 1886; the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern for 50 years from July 1, 1886. For better physical operation the management of the property was divided into the Eastern Division, east of Louisville in charge of General Wickham; and the Western Division, west of Louisville, in charge of General Echols.

Of these eastern consolidations, a later executive of the C. & O. had this to say:

In effecting these combinations, Mr. Huntington had invested heavily and had acquired for himself and his C. & O. associates large interests in the capital stock and other securities of the several railroad companies. His personality was infused into and inspired all actions. He was president of each company and controlled its board of directors.³

The N. N. & M. V. Co. is said to have owned \$5,708,700 common stock, \$3,511,600 preferred stock of the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern; \$1,055,500 shares of the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy; \$3,000,000 common stock, \$427,191 preferred and \$143,172 2d preferred stock, and \$1,590,800 bonds of the Chesapeake & Ohio⁴.

In the first annual report of the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company, May 7, 1887, Mr. Huntington said:

It is obvious that through its instrumentality a greater unanimity and efficiency in operation of the several properties and a greater economy in their administration might be secured; at the same time increasing the facilities and accommodations to the general public, and to the commercial interests of the section of the country served by these roads. The leases provide that the N.N. & M.V. Co. will keep the leased properties in good repair, operate, maintain, add to, and better the same as the business of the roads from time to time may require, and apply the surplus after payment of expenses so accrued toward the payment of the principal and interest of the trust bonds.

Early in 1888, the following equipment had been designed and ordered for the use of the N. N. & M. V. Co.: a heavy ten-wheel freight locomotive, a standard 50,000 pound gondola car, and a tank for switching engines.⁵ The steamship line between Newport News and Liverpool was to be operated in connection with the N. N. & M. V. Co. The second and last report of this company was made April 1888, for the year ending December 31, 1887, Mr. Huntington said:

The steamship line between Newport News and Liverpool was successful in securing west bound freights to a considerable amount. The west bound tonnage from Newport News having increased to 146,092 tons, an increase of 35,348 tons over 1886, a considerable part of which was brought over by these steamships.

The prospect for the development of commerce at the port of Newport News was very great. Large quantities of cotton, grain, meat, tobacco, iron ore, coal and numerous other products from the extensive area east of the Mississippi and south of Chicago would be brought to Hampton Roads and shipped to Europe and elsewhere. The line would be a great

distributor of goods brought from abroad and carried to various cities along the route. Newport News was in a position to become a great port rivalling other Atlantic ports.

Of all the many dreamers who had talked and written about a railroad from Hampton Roads to the Mississippi River, Collis Potter Huntington was the only one who had put his ideas into concrete form. He had done more. He had extended a line from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He could, therefore, during a few years, ride from Newport News to San Francisco and farther in his own car over his own roads. In the history of world transportation, what other railroad builder could ride an equal distance over railroads that he had built and controlled?

Chapter LX

REORGANIZATION OF 1888



THE DECADE that followed the reorganization of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad in 1878, was “an unprecedented succession of disturbing political and economic events.” Widespread speculation followed by the panic of 1884, greatly affected even the most stable enterprises. The stoppage of mines, furnaces, sawmills and other businesses along the line, the competition arising from several trunk lines, all resulted in a serious loss of earnings by the railroad. In his report for 1886, the President said:

The road has no other resources than its earnings. As these earnings have been insufficient in meeting the interest obligations on the large outstanding bonded debt, there is consequently no surplus from which the road can meet the payments required for new work. . . . Large expenditures will be necessary for sidings, double tracks, terminal facilities and rolling stock to move a large volume of traffic at sufficient profit to earn the interest at reduced rate.

At this time the debt amounted to over thirty million dollars and the net earnings were not more than a million and a half yearly. In his report for December 31, 1887, Mr. Huntington refers to another cause for the financial condition of the Company:

Since the reorganization of 1878, the development of the business of the road has been retarded by the want of suitable Western con-

nections and the resulting heavy charges for through business. These left but a small margin of profit on the Company's business, and the decline in rates of freight since that reorganization was much greater than was expected.

Mr. Huntington had made strenuous efforts to recover the situation. To meet interest payments he had advanced over two million dollars on his own credit. By heavy investments he had acquired control of the following railroads: the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy, the Kentucky Central, the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, and the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas in order to establish a through route for the Chesapeake & Ohio from Newport News to New Orleans and to furnish a wider field of business. By the consolidation of all these railroads into one company, he had expected to promote economy and efficiency in operation. A more direct line from Ashland to Cincinnati along the south shore of the Ohio was in the process of construction by the Contracting & Building Company of which Mr. Huntington was the president. The distance to Cincinnati was to be considerably shortened and the heavy grades of the Kentucky Central eliminated.

Steamship lines at the terminals of Huntington and Newport News had been engaged and an additional line from Newport News to Liverpool "with a view to increasing west bound tonnage and securing prompt and reliable export business." This resulted in a considerable loss the first year but Mr. Huntington considered that by holding on, the line "would become self-sustaining in the near future."

Mr. Huntington found all these measures insufficient in themselves. He attempted to interest the bond holders to agree to a funding of coupons for a number of years, and to

reduce the rate of interest to four per cent. A large majority of the bond holders—about three-fourths—agreed to this plan, but the remaining minority refused. On the 28th day of October 1887, General Wickham was again appointed Receiver of the Company's property by the Courts of Virginia and West Virginia. At the request of a number of the bond holders the firm of Drexel-Morgan & Company examined into the affairs of the Company, and on January 7, 1888, agreed to co-operate in the reorganization, upon a plan "which would result in placing the Company upon a sound financial basis."¹

A Reorganization Committee representing the bond holders and other creditors consisting of Messrs. C. H. Coster, R. J. Cross, and A. J. Thomas, were appointed to effect the plan of reorganization. It was proposed by the Committee on February 7, 1888, to issue new securities: \$30,000,000 in mortgage bonds at five per cent, \$12,000,000 preferred stock, and \$12,000,000 common stock.

The bonds of the Reorganized Company claimed an absolute lien on not only the line from Newport News to the Big Sandy, but the new line from Ashland to Covington, Kentucky, along the south bank of the Ohio, and the new railway bridge across the Ohio from Covington to Cincinnati, both of which were being constructed under Mr. Huntington's management, and were expected to cost \$8,800,000.

An agreement was reached also whereby Mr. Huntington's claims on the C. & O. were settled by issuing an equal amount of stock. The claims were for advances of \$1,568,348.16 with interest from September 30, 1887; payment for taxes \$208,572.96 with interest from October 31, 1887; coupons on



Collis P. Huntington in His Office in the Mills Building, New York, ca. 1898



S.S. Allianca of the United States & Brazil Steamship Company

bonds to April 1, 1888, inclusive, \$266,670, with interest due from date thereon respectively; total \$2,043,627.12 plus interest.

About 96 per cent of the holders of all classes of stocks and bonds expressed a willingness to accept the reorganization plan. On September 29, 1888, the Committee reported that the Chesapeake & Ohio was prepared to meet its obligations as they matured and the Company could again take possession and management of the property. Whereupon, the Courts ordered on October 1, 1888, that the property should be delivered to Mr. M. E. Ingalls, who had been elected President of the Company at a meeting of its Board of Directors on May 9, 1888.² The Directors of the new company were as follows: Messrs. M. E. Ingalls, C. H. Coster, R. J. Cross, A. J. Thomas, C. P. Huntington, A. A. Low, E. Norton, and F. O. Barbour. Mr. Huntington, owning a considerable number of the C. & O. securities, retained his seat on the Board for a number of years.

At the time of the reorganization, the Board of Public Works of Virginia was authorized to sell the stock owned by the State amounting to 17,622 shares. When this was offered for sale in March, 1888, both Mr. Huntington and Mr. Ingalls were applicants for shares of this stock.³

On January 23, 1889, a letter from Drexel-Morgan & Company, undersigned by Speyer & Company, a banking house in New York, to the Reorganization Committee announced a subscription by them of \$5,371,000 bonds of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company.

In July, 1889, it was announced that C. P. Huntington had been selling his C. & O. stock. Of this transaction Mr. Huntington said:

I sold 100,000 shares of common stock for \$2,250,000 to Speyer & Co. I do not know whether it is for Drexel-Morgan & Co. or not. I expect in time to sell out all my interests on this side of the Mississippi River. . . . I do not intend to sell my interests at Newport News at present. . . . The outlook for the C. & O. is good. The location of the road is the best in the country running as it does from the sea to the Ohio Valley. . . . If the road is properly handled and well-managed, it can be made to pay.⁴

However, it was reported that the depression of 1893 forced the C. & O. Company to strain every resource to keep out of bankruptcy. Railroad records for that year show seventy-four railroads of the U. S. in the hands of receivers.⁵

The Reorganization of 1888 resulted in the disintegration of the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company into its separate parts. The lease of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company was automatically cancelled. The company continued to operate the other railroads in the system until they were sold one by one.

The new line from Ashland to Covington and the bridge across the Ohio being completed, Mr. Huntington wrote the following letter on January 3, 1889, to Charles H. Coster, Chairman of the Reorganization Committee:

The road and bridge now having been delivered please send to this company (Contracting & Building Company) discharge from liability for advances heretofore made to it, together with a check for \$1,750,000 and interest; also, \$2,000,000 first mortgage bonds; \$1,000,000 first preferred stock; and \$1,000,000 commonstock of the reorganized company, or negotiable certificates therefor, if same have not been yet issued. There will be some further accounts to come forward for expenses connected with construction of the road and bridge, for which we shall ask you to send us checks in due course, but we have no doubt that the same will fall within the \$8,800,000 limit.

The Kentucky Central had been in charge of H. E. Huntington since 1884; first as general superintendent and then vice-president and general manager. In 1890, the road was sold to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company.

The Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad was sold to the Illinois Central, January 2, 1892, for \$25,000,000. It was consolidated with the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad Company and operated by the Illinois Central.

The Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy Railroad was transferred to the Chesapeake & Ohio Company in February 1892, by the N. N. & M. V. Co. H. E. Huntington had been vice-president and general manager from 1890, and John D. Yarrington the division superintendent.

It was announced on November 10, 1893, that the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, the last link in the N. N. & M. V. Co., had been sold under foreclosure. Of this transaction Mr. Huntington said:

I have sold my holdings in the C.O. & S. Railroad Co. to the Illinois Central for about \$5,000,000. This gives the purchasers the control of the property. When I first began building the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad and obtained the roads west of that, I expected ultimately to get control of the Atlantic & Pacific, making a very direct line from Newport News to San Francisco by way of the Canadian Forks River Valley and Albuquerque, and very near the line on which the road was actually built to Needles where it connects with the Southern Pacific. Some of my associates, however, did not think well of it and my line was afterward diverted to New Orleans. This did not make the best line across the continent and so I thought it best to dispose of all my interests this side of the Mississippi. The C. O. & S. was the last link left east of the Mississippi. I was disposed to sell this road at the low price paid as the time had passed when anything could be made out of it as an independent property.⁶

As we have seen, the proposed through line from Memphis to the Atlantic and Pacific was diverted to New Orleans by the L., N. O. & T. Some writers, however, have stated that the Southern Pacific line was diverted to New Orleans, which is a gross error. Nine months before construction was started east of Yuma in November 1878, New Orleans had been selected for the terminus of the Sunset Route. Another error by the same writers is the interpretation of Mr. Huntington's statement, "Some of my associates did not think well of it," to mean that they forced him to divert the line. His associates never forced him to change any of his plans that he himself approved. They disapproved strongly the extension of the Southern Pacific road east of Yuma, yet the Sunset Route was constructed and became an important and valuable part of the Southern Pacific System.⁷

The annual report of the Chesapeake & Ohio for July 1, 1889, by Mr. Ingalls, the new president, stated:

. . . Owing to the financial condition of the old company and its heavy fixed charges, the roadbed, bridges, and equipment have been allowed to deteriorate considerably and sufficient tracks had not been built. . . . The line has heretofore been lacking in many things essential to the proper and economical management.

Probably the \$8,800,000 used in building the road from Ashland to Covington along the Ohio River could have been used by Mr. Huntington in mending the roadbed and bridges and in the purchase of new equipment. Which was of the greater advantage to the C. & O. system?

When the Central Pacific Railroad was built the Government loaned the builders currency bonds to aid in its construction with a time limit placed on its completion. The road had to be finished by 1876, or the Government would

take it over. The last spike was driven in May 1869, and the Government and the public had the use of the first trans-continental railroad seven years earlier than expected. But, as Mr. Ingalls said of the Chesapeake & Ohio, it was "lacking in many things essential to proper and economical management." The company put forces to work and every part of the line was gone over—grades, roadbed, tunnels, bridges, trestles, snow sheds, tracks, sidings, ballast, station houses, equipment—everything pertaining to the railroad at a cost of over five million dollars. When completed in November, 1874, Government inspectors pronounced it a first class road in every particular.

Judging from the method of handling this road, it is not difficult to believe that Mr. Huntington centered his attention upon extending a road through to the West, and once secured with trains running through, he would give his attention to the physical condition of the entire road. In his annual report for 1886, he had referred to the large expenditures that would be needed to put the C. & O. line in good condition. The lease provided that the consolidating company would "keep the leased properties in good repair; operate, maintain, add to and better the same as the business of the roads would require." Some years later, a vice-president in charge of the James River Division of the C. & O. wrote:

The situation in 1887 with its heavy obligations and light earnings admitted of no alternative to a new reorganization under a plan that would provide abundantly for the present necessities of the property and for the requirements of its seemingly assured rapid growth. And it would have been undertaken by Mr. Huntington had not new elements and new men entered into the great scheme at this juncture.⁸

The reorganization plan was considered by many to be a severe, if not irreparable, blow to the development of the port of Newport News. Mr. Ingalls being already President of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company, known as the "Big Four," brought the Chesapeake & Ohio into close connection with the Morgan-Vanderbilt interests in Wall Street, New York, to the great detriment of the Newport News port.

A recent writer on the subject expresses his opinion as follows:

The failure of the plan ended the only real opportunity Virginia ever had of having her great harbor developed by a man of great leadership and wealth whose interests were not already primarily connected with the lines running into New York. Hampton Roads as a harbor has never been developed as extensively as its natural advantages compared to New York and other ports would seem to justify. The established position and greater wealth of New York were balanced against Virginia.⁹

Many efforts have been made during the years that have followed to devise some means for developing the port to a greater usefulness. In 1893 a trans-Atlantic steamship line was inaugurated between the C. & O. and the Furness Line to trade between Newport News and Liverpool with a fleet of seven steamships that bore the names of Virginia rivers. The line was expected to add considerably to the activities of the port but it lasted only a few years. The Furness-Withy Steamship Company, however, continued to operate vessels in the Hampton Roads area.

A committee appointed by the State Legislature, March 24, 1922, made a survey of the port for the purpose of determining "how the State might aid in bringing Hampton Roads

to the highest state of development and Newport News a greater city even surpassing the dreams of the founder." This effort had no lasting results.

In 1925, when the Chesapeake & Ohio merged with the Nickel Plate, the Pere Marquette, and the Erie & Hocking Valley Railroad Companies, a resolution of the Virginia State Commerce declared it "to be in the best interest of Virginia in promoting the development of Hampton Roads as a world port." After a few years, however, the unification was dissolved.

As recent as February 1952, members of the Virginia General Assembly, the Governor of the State, and other high ranking State officials with their guests made a tour of Hampton Roads in the SS *Accomac* inspecting the port arrangements. "Interested and somewhat amazed" at the size of the port, the officials made a careful study of the present facilities with a view to future development. For three days the visitors studied the situation, concluding with a dinner at the Cavalier Hotel at Virginia Beach. In his closing address Governor Battle said:

Only in comparatively recent years have we recognized the potentialities of our soil. . . . We must apply the same careful thought to our great natural assets, including our ports. . . . I trust and believe that we shall see a vast expansion in the commerce flowing through this port, with the intelligent guidance and support of the progressive people of the Tidewater communities, as well as the members of the General Assembly and the various agencies of government which are properly concerned in these matters.

The part of Governor Battle's speech that aroused the most enthusiasm was a tribute to one phase of Mr. Huntington's work at Newport News, the shipyard, as one of the greatest

industries operated in Virginia. The mention of the shipyard's slogan:

We shall build good ships here;
At a profit, if we can;
At a loss, if we must;
But always good ships,

brought the four hundred guests to their feet in a standing ovation.¹⁰

One of the early Chesapeake & Ohio civil engineers, James Poyntz Nelson when referring to Mr. Huntington and others of the C. & O. in an address upon one occasion, said:

I think with admiration of those who took part in this stupendous task, of their courage, foresight and loyalty to their trust. And when the issue was not assured and they laid down their trust, they did so with clean hands. . . . I have sometimes thought it would be most fitting were there placed at Lexington, Virginia, where Washington's name is spoken daily, if not hourly, some memorial of Collis Potter Huntington. He it was who dared to venture on the great work when its result as seen to-day was unforeseen. Surely Virginia would welcome at her seat of learning, sacred to the names of her two great sons, a memorial that would not only bring increased helpfulness to the young men who gather there from many places for knowledge, but also to dedicate to these halls of learning the name of a great American. Eloquent and deathless would be this memorial.

Chapter LXI

CHESAPEAKE DRY DOCK & CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, 1886-1890



THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION of 1884 extending throughout the country affected adversely the new city and port of Newport News. The Old Dominion Land Company reported only a few lots sold and very few new industries established during that period. The expected improvement in conditions during 1885 was so slow that Mr. Huntington decided to establish a new enterprise. He considered that in view of the large number of merchant vessels and other water craft that frequented Hampton Roads, the establishment of a shipyard and dry dock where vessels of all kinds could be docked and repaired would furnish employment for many men and be a desirable asset to the port.

Shipbuilding was not unknown to this Peninsula. For generations small sailing boats of various kinds had been built and operated by residents; and several small shipyards had existed at Hampton and on the eastern coast of the Peninsula. The earliest record of shipbuilding in this region, however, except for Indian log canoes, is contained in a letter written by Sir Samuel Argoll of Virginia to Master Nicholas Hawes of England in June, 1613, in which he tells of his arrival at Point Comfort on September 17, 1612, where he

spent his time until the first of November in helping to repair such ships and boats as he "found heere decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre." The next year he built a "Frigat" and a fishing boat at Old Point.¹

On January 8, 1886, a bill for the incorporation of the Chesapeake Dry Dock & Construction Company was introduced in the Senate of the General Assembly of Virginia. An Act for the incorporation of that company was approved January 28, 1886, and a charter granted to the following persons: P. C. Asserson, civil engineer, formerly of the Norfolk Navy Yard; J. E. Simpson, a designer and builder of dry docks; John Callahan, a former State Senator from Portsmouth and Norfolk County, later with the Norfolk & Washington Steamship Company; J. F. Desendorf, ex-Congressman from Norfolk district; E. A. Adams (not to be confused with a later member of the company by that name); H. P. Gilbert, and T. W. Evans.

The charter authorized the company to construct, operate, and maintain a dry dock with the necessary buildings, piers and wharves; to build and repair steamships, vessels, and boats of all dimensions of wood, iron, steel and other materials and to acquire the necessary real and personal property with land not to exceed one hundred acres. The charter authorized a minimum of capital stock of \$100,000; maximum, \$2,000,000.²

Three other places in addition to Newport News were named in the charter from which to select the location of the plant: Norfolk, Portsmouth and Berkeley. These sites were undoubtedly suggested by the members from across the Roads. Mr. Huntington was keeping in the background as he had done on similar occasions.

The first meeting of the incorporators was held in Richmond on April 22, 1886, for the purpose of organization. J. E. Simpson was elected permanent chairman of the meeting, and a committee appointed to open books for subscriptions to capital stock. The books were opened in the Mills Building at Broad and Wall Streets, New York, and by June 8, the required amount of stock had been subscribed.

The first meeting of stockholders was held in the Warwick Hotel at Newport News, during which the company adopted by-laws requiring a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and a superintendent of works to have charge of operations, keep accounts, and make reports to the treasurer. The following Board of Directors was elected: C. P. Huntington, J. E. Simpson, I. E. Gates (Mr. Huntington's brother-in-law), E. H. Pardee (Mr. Huntington's nephew), and F. H. Davis (a railroad associate of Mr. Huntington). The Board was authorized to select a site for the dry dock, wharves and buildings, and to make contracts for their construction and equipment.

The first meeting of the Board of Directors was held in New York, December 1, 1886, at which the following officers were elected: Frank H. Davis, President; J. E. Simpson, Jr., Vice-President; and I. E. Gates, Secretary and Treasurer. A Superintendent was not appointed until the following year. A committee consisting of Messrs. Huntington, Davis, and Pardee was appointed to select the site for the plant and to prepare contracts for the construction of the dry dock, wharves and buildings.

Mr. Huntington with some others had already investigated the waterfront for a good location, and from a C. & O. tug

had witnessed the driving of test piles in shoal water at a site proposed for the plant. The site selected was about a mile north of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway terminal and was in possession of the Old Dominion Land Company who owned the land extending north and south of the tract affording ample room for extension of the plant. The high bank provided the necessary earth for filling the shoal water around the dry dock, and only a short spur of track was required for a connection with the main railroad track.

The tract purchased had a frontage of 425 feet along Washington Avenue from 39th to 41st Streets, the north and south boundary lines extending to the river, thus establishing the plant in conformity with the street and avenue lines of the city. An expanse of more than four miles extended from the waterfront of the plant site to the western shore of the river. The deed was signed by C. P. Huntington as President of the Old Dominion Land Company.

About the selection of this site Mr. Huntington said sometime later:

It was my original intention to start a shipyard plant in the best location in the world and I have succeeded in my purpose. It is right at the gateway of the sea. There is never any ice in winter and it is never so cold but you can hammer metal out of doors.

On February 21, 1887, the contract for building the dry dock was given to J. E. Simpson & Company, engineers, who had built several dry docks at places along the Atlantic Coast.³ The dry dock built at Newport News was on a well-known plan patented by Simpson and, at the time, was one of the largest dry docks ever constructed, large enough to accommodate the largest vessel afloat. It measured 600 feet

in length, 130 feet in width, 50 feet wide at the bottom, and 93 feet wide at the entrance with a draught of 25 feet of water over the sill.

The basin was built in shoal water with the head 200 feet out from the river shore. Rows of piles were driven around the sides and end; earth excavated from the adjoining bank was used to fill in and enclose the basin. The caisson was an iron structure 96 feet long on top, 50 feet at the bottom and 33 feet deep. The dock was supplied with two centrifugal pumps each of which could empty the basin in one hour and thirty-six minutes. The combined power of the two engines was 500 horsepower. The work on the dry dock started in June, 1887, and was finished in April, 1889.

In February, 1887, the charter was amended to increase the capital stock from \$100,000 to \$600,000, and to authorize the issue of bonds for the same amount. In July of the same year, the company issued five per cent, 50-year First Mortgage bonds for \$600,000.

At a special meeting of the Board of Directors in New York on April 27, 1887, I. E. Gates resigned as Secretary of the company, retaining the office of Treasurer. C. B. Orcutt was appointed Secretary, the beginning of many years' service as an officer of the company. On January 10, 1889, F. H. Davis resigned as a Director and President and Mr. Orcutt was elected to the Board and became the President and Purchasing Agent of the company. In August, 1888, Mr. Orcutt had become President of the Old Dominion Land Company upon the resignation of Mr. Huntington.

On October 10, 1888, the capital stock was increased from \$600,000 to \$1,000,000. About this time an agreement was reached with James Bigler by which he was to receive six

hundred shares of company stock for the defunct plant of Newburgh Iron Shipbuilding Company which Mr. Bigler was to remove and erect at the Newport News plant. These materials arrived at Newport News on December 15, 1888. Mr. Bigler was appointed the first Superintendent of Works to take office January 1, 1889, at a salary of \$5,000 a year, plus five per cent of net earnings, the aggregate not to exceed \$10,000. He was elected a Director of the company on January 10, taking the place of I. E. Gates, resigned.

At a meeting of the Board on November 12, 1888, Messrs. Davis and Orcutt were authorized to select sites for the dock-yard buildings and to make contracts for their erection and for piling and filling in the yard.

On December 6, 1888, a shipment of native lumber was received by schooner from Thomas Newman of York County, 36,058 feet of 3x8's and boards at \$10.00 per thousand. This was the first purchase of materials directly on account of the yard. Several other schooner cargoes followed from the same source to a total of 100,000 board feet. During December, nine carloads of framing lumber were received from a firm in Portsmouth and seventeen carloads of the same kind of timber from Wilmington, North Carolina. Other building materials for the shipward and bricks for the row houses in the town followed rapidly during the next year.

In April, 1889, large quantities of miscellaneous material were received, bolts and nuts, pipe fittings, packing, leather belting, 2-inch cast iron pipe, brass rods, insulated wire, wire rope, hardware of various kinds, etc., the first general supply for repair purposes.

The fill and log cribbing undertaken by Simpson had been turned over to the engineer, Colonel C. M. Braxton.

Later, on July 24, he was given a contract on a price per yard basis for excavation and grading which he handled for several years requiring a large force of workmen and considerable equipment. At the close of December, 1890, it was announced that 953,163 cubic yards of earth had been removed by excavation and dredging and the work was still being carried on.

The dry dock was completed in April, 1889. Before it was formally opened, however, two vessels were docked from April 19 to 22, the dredge *Commodore* belonging to the American Dredging Company of Philadelphia which had been doing dredging work at the plant, and the British steamship *Wylo*. A flat charge of \$50.00 was made for docking the dredge and \$25.00 each for two lay days, total \$100.00. For the *Wylo* there was a docking charge of \$322.50 plus \$265.75 for two lay days, a total of \$854.00; for both vessels, a total of \$954.00. In addition there was a bill for considerable repair work on the *Wylo*.

The official opening of the dry dock was held on April 24 with the docking of the U. S. monitor *Puritan*. A large party of invited guests came from New York, Washington, Richmond, and other places. After the ceremony of docking the ship, a banquet was held at the Warwick Hotel. On this occasion the *Puritan* was docked free of charge as a demonstration of the operation and only a preliminary inspection was made. The monitor returned on May 3 for regular docking service.

On June 8, 1889, Mr. Orcutt engaged Henry Konitsky, formerly of Cramps' Shipyard as the General Superintendent of the plant at a salary of \$10,000 per year plus \$5,000 in cash, to take the place of James Bigler who had resigned and

returned to Newburgh. Mr. Konitsky reported for duty on July 1. In September of the following year he left for Europe where he remained six weeks. No adequate provision having been made for the work during his absence, he was "furloughed," but he returned to Newport News where he remained to the end of the year.

Large quantities of fresh water were required for the various departments of the yard and the available supply from wells and pumps was inadequate. To provide both water and light for the plant and the growing city, the Newport News Light & Water Company was organized and a charter granted the company on August 12, 1889, authorizing a capital stock of \$30,000 minimum and \$150,000 maximum. The charter was amended in September 1890 to increase the capital stock to \$1,000,000 and provide for real estate holdings to 5,000 acres.

This company was sponsored by the Old Dominion Land Company with the same group of directors and the following officers: C. P. Orcutt, President; Edward St. John, Secretary; and I. E. Gates, Treasurer. Incidentally, Messrs. Orcutt and Gates had become President and Treasurer respectively of the Shipyard Company, the Old Dominion Land Company, and the Newport News Light & Water Company, offices which each held for more than twenty years.

A big fire in Newport News, July 25, 1891, burning most of the buildings on 27th Street, emphasized the need for a water supply system. There was no fire organization and no water except from hand pumps.

The water supply was expected to come from Causey's Mill Pond, but this was soon found to be inadequate and engineers were sent to Lee Hall to make surveys for a reser-



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Opening Day of the Shipyard Dry Dock No. 1, April 24, 1889



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Dry Dock No. 2 Under Construction, ca. 1899

voir and pumping station. While this was in progress, a temporary pumping station was set up at Young's Mill Pond. The water supply from Lee Hall was ready about 1893, the expenditures for which had been taken care of largely by the Land Company.

On August 2, 1889, Mr. Huntington, in writing to Mr. Irving M. Scott of the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, to thank him for blueprints of a large shear hoist at their works, said:

We have laid our calculations for a shipyard that will be a credit to the country as well as ourselves and are pushing the work as fast as is compatible with due attention to the many points that must be carefully considered in preparing for the construction of modern big ships. I hope sometime to invite my friend Scott to visit it with a reasonable confidence in his approval and admiration.

With Mr. Huntington's decision to add shipbuilding on a large scale to repair work, plans were made for the enlargement of the plant and the erection of additional buildings. During August 1889, the engineer, I. E. White, began construction of shipways under a contract which required several years to complete. On August 12, 1889, James Rowbottom, formerly of Cramp's Shipyard, reported for duty. He became in time Superintendent of Machinery and one of the most efficient and trusted employees of the Shipyard.

During this month Mr. Huntington purchased the \$165,000 bonds and stocks of the company owned by J. E. Simpson & Company. J. E. Simpson, Jr., resigned as Vice-President and Director of the company which closed out the Simpson interest in the plant. A. A. Low was elected a Director in Simpson's place.

The British steamship *Mortlake* of 2,765 tons was docked during August 20 to 22, the largest vessel yet to occupy the dock. For lack of sufficient force, much of the repair work done at the plant following the opening of the dock was done by outside carpenters and painting contractors. Two conditions existed in Newport News at that time which prevented the Shipyard from maintaining an adequate permanent force of workmen, especially men with families: the scarcity of houses to live in, and the lack of good schools for their children. The city was totally unprepared for the influx of so many workmen required by the yard.

To take care of the situation, Mr. Huntington sent Otto C. Wolf, an engineer and architect of Philadelphia, to Newport News to develop plans for a large scale housing project. He designed also the main office building, employment office, stables, and main gateway of the shipyard. For his work he received a fee of \$2,500.00.

Some members of the Old Dominion Land Company were apprehensive of the result of Mr. Huntington's expensive ideas, hence contracts were let under the personal account of Mr. Huntington for ninety-two two-story brick row houses between 37th and 39th Streets in close proximity to the shipyard; and for forty-six similar houses between 36th and 37th Streets under the personal account of Mr. A. A. Low. When completed these houses were rented to employees of the Shipyard at a nominal rental. The Old Dominion Land Company had built a row of three-story houses on 27th Street between Lafayette and Virginia Avenues; and plans were made to build fifteen three-story houses on 28th Street for Mr. A. A. Low, these to be rented to Shipyard officials.

To relieve the situation in regard to schools, a four-room school building, designed by Wolf, was erected at the corner of 35th Street and Washington Avenue convenient to the new rows of houses. The school was opened in 1891 with Miss Sarah P. Newton of Greenfield, Massachusetts, in charge. Trained teachers were employed and an excellent graded school organized where children of Shipyard workmen could be taught free of charge. In 1901, after the city had opened two large graded schools and a high school, all grades except the First were sent to the public schools and the rooms opened as a kindergarten for the younger children of shipyard employees. The expenses of the school were paid by Mr. Huntington apart from the Shipyard. After his death it was carried on by Mrs. Huntington, but was finally closed in 1926 after her death in 1924.

September, 1889, marks the enrollment of the first apprentice, Henry Clark. However, under the rule requiring the student to be twenty-one years of age upon graduation, Norwood Jones, who enrolled later, became the first apprentice to receive a certificate of graduation in April, 1894. This school developed into the outstanding institution of its kind in the country.

On November 30, 1889, Mr. Huntington wrote a letter of protest to Mr. C. H. Coster of New York, a Director of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, against charges for switching cars of goods from the West to the spur track of the Shipyard. This letter was evidently answered by Mr. M. E. Ingalls, President of the railroad, as the following letter of December 21, to Mr. Ingalls indicates:

Replying to yours of the 18th in respect to switching charges into the yards of the Dry Dock Company, the charge of \$2.50 per car

from the wharves is all right but . . . business from the West should all be delivered free of charge. There will be a great deal of material shipped to this Dry Dock on which your average length of haul will be quite large, in consideration of which I think the switching charge should be entirely waived.

There is no Shipyard record that those switching charges were ever waived by the C. & O.

The total income from dry dock services from the opening in April to the end of the year, disregarding repair work was only \$8,751.00. Most of the vessels that used the dry dock were small schooners, barges and harbor craft for which low charges were made. "To men of less courage than Mr. Huntington, this would have been disheartening."

The steamship *Kimberley* of 3,740 tons was purchased by Mr. Huntington in a wrecked condition for the Pacific Improvement Company and placed in the dry dock, January 11, 1890, to be reconditioned. Extensive repairs known as rebuilding were required at a cost of \$318,426.00. She left the yard in October, nine months later, under American registry and a new name, *San Benito*, and carrying the first brass plate the company ever put on a vessel: "Reconstructed by The Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company at Newport News, Virginia."

The name of the company had been changed by charter amendment on February 17, 1890, from Chesapeake Dry Dock & Construction Company to Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company. The new name was considered to be more in keeping with the building of large ships and indicative of the location of the plant. The change was approved and accepted by the Board of Directors at a meeting on March 11, 1890, and the new name used thereafter.

Chapter LXII

NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRYDOCK COMPANY, 1890-1900



SOON AFTER the announcement of the new name adopted by the company, extensive plans were made for the enlargement of the plant. The charter was amended to increase the capital stock to \$2,000,000, and to authorize an issue of bonds for the same amount. The land area was extended north to 44th Street and south to 37th Street, both boundary lines extending to the river.

Mr. Huntington's expansive program alarmed some members of the Board and they were reluctant to continue the work at such a rapid pace. Thereupon, Mr. Huntington resigned as a member of the Board and entered into an agreement with the company for enlarging the plant. The contract covered the general program for permanent buildings, extension of the waterfront, erection of shipways and piers, all of which were expected to be completed by the summer of the following year. The consideration in the contract was in the form of company securities.

At a meeting in New York, August 17, 1891, the Board declared the contract with Mr. Huntington for plant improvements had been performed at an aggregate cost of \$509,349.86, not including interest, and it was authorized to

pay Mr. Huntington in company securities as agreed. The par value of securities authorized in payment was \$600,000 in bonds and \$56,000 in stock, the equivalent of eighty-five per cent for the bonds with the stock thrown in.

The new General Superintendent of the yard, Sommers N. Smith and his clerk, F. J. McDonald, had reported for duty on January 2, 1890. Mr. Smith, formerly of Neafie & Levy, was engaged in November by Mr. Orcutt for a term of five years at a salary of \$1,500 a month, plus a percentage of gross merchant tonnage completed. He was regarded by Mr. Orcutt as probably the most competent shipbuilder in the country, "equally versed in hull and machinery construction."

The contract for building the first vessel in the new plant was made April 25, 1890. Hull 1 was a tug, later named *Dorothy*, for James R. Sheffield, for the service of the New York & Northern Railroad in New York harbor. She was launched on December 17 of that year, and completed on April 21, 1891, about one year required for building.

On July 30, 1890, contracts were made for Hull 2, another tug, *El Toro*, and Hulls 3 and 4, freight steamers, *El Sud* and *El Norte*, respectively. These ships were of 4,500 tons registry and measured approximately 406 ft. x 48 ft. x 34 ft. These two vessels and the tug were for the Pacific Improvement Company, a California railroad construction company connected with the Southern Pacific Company in which Mr. Huntington held large interests. The vessels were for operation by the Morgan Line, operating between New Orleans, Galveston and New York, and the contracts were signed by Mr. Huntington as agent and attorney for the Pacific Company.

In connection with these contracts, Mr. Huntington visited the yard on September 17, 1890. He was accompanied by Mr. Irving Scott of the Union Iron Works at San Francisco and a Director of the Southern Pacific Company of whose "approval and admiration" of the plant Mr. Huntington had said he was "reasonably confident."

Upon learning that the Navy Yard at Portsmouth had taken the German steamship *Woutan* into their dry dock for repairs on December 24, 1890, Mr. Huntington first wired a protest followed by a letter to the Honorable B. F. Tracy, Secretary of the Navy:

I was very much surprised and aggrieved to know that the Government should have come in and taken this work after the owners of the yard at Newport News have been to the great expense they have incurred in preparing to do just this kind of work. We supposed that we would be likely to do all that kind of business that came into Hampton Roads, but of course we can not compete with the Government were it to go outside its own work and open up its dock and yards to the same kind of business. . . . I will say that the writer has taken great pride in this Shipyard and that we expect to have the best yard in the world. . . . We have spent on this plant considerably over three millions, expecting to go on and spend at least five millions of dollars in preparing not only to build ships, but to do all necessary repairs upon them without fear of competition from the Government. I cannot help but believe that there has been some misrepresentation and that the real facts did not come before the Honorable Secretary. . . .

On his way to San Francisco in March, 1891, Mr. Huntington paid a visit to Newport News. He was interested in the water supply for the city and Shipyard, and the progress of construction on the ships for the Morgan Line. After his arrival at San Francisco, he wrote to Mr. Orcutt expressing

some criticism of the condition of the yard and the slow progress on the ships. Mr. Orcutt immediately left for Newport News where he remained a month or longer in an effort to hasten the completion of the yard and progress on the ships. On April 6, he wrote to Mr. Huntington as follows in defense of the Shipyard and officials:

. . . You have given us a contract the like of which has never before been assigned either in this country or any other, namely, to put a first class shipbuilding establishment of great magnitude on virgin soil . . . in a very short space of time when the size of the operation is considered. All other shipyards have been the growth of years from simple beginnings, whereas here it has been necessary to handle at one time the layout and preparation of grounds; location, design, and construction of buildings; selection, design and installation of machinery; all looking to future needs for economical operation in competition with other shipyards.

We have introduced numerous labor saving appliances which have never [before] been made use of in American yards, and I doubt if they have been employed in foreign yards, such as hydraulic traveling cranes, cantilever crane on trestle for handling material to ships, a special yard crane (on surface tracks in gap), subway for steam pipes, and heading pipes for building, etc., etc. Many anxious months have been spent in trying to get this plant in shape, and I am willing to accept your verdict and that of the shipbuilding world . . . when the wheels are all turning over.

In Mr. Huntington's reply, April 17, to Mr. Orcutt's letter, he said:

. . . Without pretending to answer in detail the points that you raise in your letter, I will only say that you have had—and never greater than now—my entire confidence, that the very best results would come to the Shipyard under your management.

Mr. Huntington was particularly anxious that Hulls 3 and 4 be completed on scheduled time. Said he, "I want the

Newport News yard to be an exception to all others in promptness of delivery and fulfillment of promises." The yard was badly handicapped by delay in the delivery of equipment ordered, especially the traveling cantilever crane. In order to hasten the arrival of important tools Mr. Huntington had written the firm of Bement, Miles & Company, Philadelphia, on January 9, 1891:

Mr. Orcutt has sent me your letter of the 8th to him, and as he is not in town, I herewith send you my check on the Chase National Bank, No. 913, for Twenty Thousand Dollars. I send it to you because your reputation for doing just as you agreed used to be so good, and not because you have kept anywhere near your agreement in the delivery of those tools for our Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company. Still, if you will deliver the balance of the tools quickly, I think I will forgive you.

About two weeks later he wrote to them again that the Shipyard work was tied up for lack of the tools, and the yard had lost so much money on this account, "I begin to think we are not treated fairly and shall remember it."

On October 27, 1891, the yard was extended northward to 46th Street on a line of 520 feet from Washington Avenue to the river; and southward to 36th Street on a line of 320 feet between West Avenue and the river, at the price of \$20,000. This purchase increased the frontage on the river from 1,820 feet to 2,540 feet. This additional seven and a quarter acres brought the total to 77 acres and provided ample space for future development. In addition to the five original dockyard buildings, fifteen other large buildings had been added.

To keep pace with the expansion of the yard the charter of the company was amended on December 21, 1891, to in-

crease the maximum capital stock from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000, and to allow an increase in area from 100 acres to 500 acres.

On December 1, 1891, Charles F. Bailey, formerly of Neafie & Levy, was employed as chief draftsman for engine work. His employment in the Newport News Shipyard continued in a series of advancements for forty years and proved to be of great value to the yard.

The third freight steamer for the Pacific Improvement Company, Hull 5, *El Rio* was contracted for on January 4, 1892. This was the first vessel built of steel by the company.

On March 16, 1892, was launched *El Sud*, the first large steamship built by the company. It was a notable event attended by members of Congress, officers of the Army and Navy, shipbuilders from other shipyards and other prominent business men. Mr. Huntington's presence was an important feature of the occasion, the only launching he ever witnessed in the Newport News Yard. His party consisted of Mrs. Huntington, Mr. A. M. Huntington, Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Criss, Mr. E. Hawley, Assistant General Traffic Manager of the Southern Pacific Company, and others. The sponsor for *El Sud* was Miss Louise Armstrong, daughter of General Samuel C. Armstrong, Principal of the Hampton Institute in which Mr. Huntington had shown considerable interest. She was attended on the launching stand by Mr. E. H. Pardee, a nephew of Mr. Huntington.

After the launching, a luncheon was held in the great drafting room of the Shipyard with Mr. C. B. Orcutt, President of the Company, presiding. Mr. Huntington was called upon as the "Master Spirit of the Work," and in his response he emphasized—as he had done so often in California—the

value of the conversion of raw materials into finished products. Here follow some excerpts from that speech which was punctuated by applause and cheers:

We have met to christen and launch the steamship *El Sud*. She is the first great ship, I believe, that has ever been built south of the Potomac and we have named her "The South." May she be the first of a long list of such ships to be built in this section of the country where the greatest amount of material for such work is found! And may she be the pioneer of a great commercial future for the South! . . . The half million dollars and more which the builder of the great ship paid for its construction is nearly all paid for labor. The iron in the mine, the coal in its native beds, the timber in its native forest, that have been used in its construction count as almost nothing in comparison with the finished product. One of the beams in the ship is worth perhaps more than all the vast tonnage of the crude material before it was stirred by the hand of man. What then should be more honorable than the industry which takes this crude material and fashions it into the marvelous fabric of the ship? From the commencement to the completion of the work all along the lines of labor from the miner toiling underground to the man who designed the monster engines with their complicated machinery that are to drive the ship through stormy seas, the labor is alike honest and honorable. . . . I hope to see you all here at the christening and launching of many ships at this port of Newport News as many shall be built here. This should have been the great entrepôt of American commerce as it is at the very gateway to the sea, with a wide and safe entrance and commodious harbor, and is in the center of the Atlantic coast line of this great Republic. What is almost better than all, it is in the State of Virginia. My interests in the Old Dominion have been very large for many years, and I owe it to the state to say that those interests have always received from her a wise and hearty encouragement and a fair treatment that an honest regard for individual rights and an intelligent understanding of the State's own best interest would prompt. I have for the old State a most affectionate regard, for I have met

within her borders only friends. And I believe that all who come within her domain will be equally well cared for. May many come and that, too, from all the trade centers of the world, and may the commerce of this favored place go out even beyond the points from which others come, for however far the Missionary and Crusader may go, Commerce will always leave their uttermost limits behind and carry Civilization and its handmaid Religion far beyond them; for Commerce is King.¹

Three months later on June 14, *El Norte*, sister ship of the *El Sud*, was launched. Mr. Huntington was not present for the occasion, but he sent Mr. Orcutt a telegram of congratulation:

. . . I have always believed in a great future for our commercial marine. . . . I am much gratified, not only to see the South taking strong steps forward in this direction but to be myself a factor in the progress and am especially glad that the Old State of Virginia has something to say about it.

El Sud was completed July 27, 1892; *El Norte* the following September 15; *El Rio* was launched on October 26, and completed February 9, 1893.

On July 8, 1892, Mr. Huntington signed a contract for the construction of Hull 6, *El Cid*, the fourth freight steamer built for the Pacific Improvement Company to be operated by the Morgan Steamship Line. She was launched May 31, 1893, and completed the following August 4.

The four Morgan liners attracted much attention and favorable press comment for the excellence of their construction, their performance and trim appearance. The *Marine Journal* for September 23, 1893, carried the following news item:

The ink on the report of one of the magnificent Morgan Line ships breaking the record hardly gets dry when another craft does a

little better. . . . The latest performance is that of *El Cid* whose feat on her maiden voyage elicited well-deserved notices from the daily papers and caused no small comment at home and abroad. . . . The fleet are probably incomparable for the service on their speed and efficiency.

The same issue of the *Journal* carried an editorial with reference to Mr. Huntington and the building of *El Cid* under the caption, "A Consistent Patriot":

It is a matter of common repute that *El Cid* was built more to keep the artisans at Newport News employed than for any real need the owners of the Southern Pacific Company at the present time have for her. If every multimillionaire had done as Mr. Huntington—built a city and then kept his agent busy trying to keep the inhabitants busy—there would have been less destitution abroad in the land to-day.

This Patriotic Citizen and his associates who have furnished the money to construct *El Cid* deserve the credit they have already earned of building the fastest freight ship in the world and one of the largest coastwise carriers under the American flag.

When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, the Government purchased *El Sud*, *El Norte* and *El Rio*, had them converted into auxiliary cruisers and renamed *Yosemite*, *Yankee* and *Dixie* respectively. The conversion of *El Sud* and *El Rio* was done at the Newport News yard.

Due to the depression of 1893, the Morgan Line did not need *El Cid* and she was sold to Brazil for about \$500,000, and converted into the dynamite cruiser *Nictheroy*. The U. S. Government bought her in 1898, and she was converted into the naval tender *Buffalo*.

The panic of 1893, beginning in May and extending throughout the country "resulted in 15,000 commercial failures, 574 closed banks, and put 166 railroads into receiver-

ships." Mr. Huntington himself felt the panic keenly. He needed about \$4,000,000 immediately to carry his interests through, and he found a host of friends ready to come to his relief among them the U. S. Bank, the Chase National Bank and others. That the Huntington railroad lines in the West escaped receivership was ascribed by financial writers to Mr. Huntington's astuteness in the management of large affairs.

On April 28, 1894, at the annual dinner given by Mr. Huntington to the heads of the departments of the Southern Pacific Company, he said in reference to the panic:

. . . This worst year of depression that I have ever known. I had my paper on the market in 1837, in '57, in '73 and in '84, the periods of financial panic in this country, and never had one piece of it to go to protest. In each of those years there were days that I think were worse, in the sharpness of the crisis and tremendous strain, than any day of the past year, but they were, fortunately, few.

Bids for the construction of three gunboats for the United States Navy were to be opened in Washington in October, 1893. With reference to the bids offered by the Newport News Yard, Mr. Huntington wrote Mr. Orcutt as follows:

. . . The price seems very low and more particularly so as you know my feeling is that every ship we build there should be first-class in quality in every respect whether we make or lose on her. In fact, I think the shipyard in the end will make more money to do first-class work than to get ever so little below that high standard. I think we have got the best Shipyard plant in the world. What I want to do is to have for it the reputation of building the best ships. So do not make any calculations on scrimping the works on any of their parts.

The contracts for the three vessels were awarded to the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company. The award was contested by other bidders chiefly on the charge

of a lack of experience in naval work by the Newport News Yard. On December 6, Mr. Huntington wrote to Mr. Orcutt concerning the contracts:

Yours of the 5th is received, and I am glad you have got the work although the prices are very low, I think. But it will set a good many men to work, and work is what they very much need. In fact, it will be a perfect godsend to them. I note you say there will have to be some changes, but whatever the changes are you should get a fair price for whatever you do. I want you to turn out as good or better ships of this class than have ever been built before for the Government. I had rather lose money on a first-class ship than to make one that did not give satisfaction to the Government. The Yard is new and what I want is to get a reputation for building first-class ships and then always build ships to sustain that reputation. I find there is more money made in doing things this way, and outside of money, there is a great satisfaction in doing work well. It would be humiliating to me to have anything turned out from our yard that was not first-class.

The contract for Hull 7, gunboat *Nashville*, was signed with the Government on January 22, 1894, and contracts for Hulls 8 and 9, gunboats *Wilmington* and *Helena*, were signed a week later on January 29. Naval Constructor J. Janvier Woodward was stationed at the Shipyard about this time for supervision and inspection of Government work. Among the members of his technical staff were Albert L. Hopkins and Sydney L. Wood, both of whom became later prominently connected with the Shipyard staff.

The double launching of the *Nashville* and the *Wilmington* took place on October 19, 1895. The Secretary of the Navy and party from Washington and distinguished guests from other cities attended the launching. The White Squadron

consisting of six large naval vessels of the Atlantic Fleet assembled in Newport News harbor opposite the Shipyard for the launching ceremonies.

Mr. Huntington wired his congratulations to Mr. Orcutt from San Francisco:

. . . With the past record of the yard before me, I believe that no better vessels of their kind have ever been built, and I have no doubt but that in their construction, as in all other contracts which we have had, you have been careful to follow my instructions: that the excellence of workmanship with us always takes precedence of profit. I am particularly anxious for the sake of the old flag and what it shall represent on the high seas, that the Newport News Shipyard shall turn out for the Nation splendid vessels of which the country and the builders may be proud.

The third gunboat *Helena* was not launched until January 30, 1896. The delay in the completion and delivery of the three gunboats was very disturbing to Mr. Huntington. He wrote to Mr. Orcutt on December 24, 1896, reminding him that the gunboats had been scheduled for delivery in six months and as that time had passed he would like to know when delivery would take place. He wrote again a month later, January 27, 1897, stating that more money had been expended on the gunboats than the entire amount to be received for building them, and the day of their completion was not known yet. His letter of January 30, was critical of the management:

It seems that you have employed now on gunboat No. 7 [*Nashville*] 322 men; on gunboats 8 and 9 [*Wilmington* and *Helena*] 677 men. Now as two of these vessels sometime ago cost us one hundred thousand dollars each more than we received for building them, this large number of men working on them is certainly not a cheerful outlook, but I suppose the time will sometime arrive when we



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

*Hulls 1 and 2, Tugs Dorothy and El Toro of the Newport News Shipyard, 1891.
Photograph of 1949 after 58 Years of Service.*



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

S.S. El Sud, Hull 3, Ready for Launching at the Newport News Shipyard, March 16, 1892

shall get as much for building a ship as it cost us. I cannot, however, understand how such mistakes can be made. . . . There is something that is fearfully wrong; in fact, so wrong that I am afraid to take any work until we have reached a point where we can get as much for building a ship as it costs us to build it.

The trial runs of the *Wilmington* and *Helena* in March and the *Nashville* in May resulted in considerable bonus on each vessel for exceeding the contract speed by two knots, which in a measure compensated for the losses on construction. The *Wilmington* and *Helena* were completed in May and the *Nashville* in June, and were delivered at the Norfolk Navy Yard. The *Nashville* fired the first shot in the Spanish-American War on April 22, 1898, when it captured the Spanish steamer *Buena Ventura* near Key West, Florida.

On October 31, 1895, a few days after the launching of the *Nashville* and *Wilmington* gunboats, Mr. Huntington wrote to Mr. Orcutt that the Government was going to have two battleships built, and he requested Mr. Orcutt's views as to what the Shipyard should do. He would like the yard to have one and Scott of the Union Iron Works at San Francisco the other is possible.

In a letter of November 11, he agrees with Mr. Orcutt's suggestion that the Yard put in a bid on one at a fair price and then on both at a low price. He thought the Secretary of the Navy [Hilary A. Herbert] would like the yard to get one or both "as we do probably the best work that is done in the world today."

Three days later he wrote again and reiterated his belief that the Secretary was favorably disposed toward the Newport News Shipyard, not only because of the excellence of its work but because it was "peculiarly a Southern shipyard"

and entitled to a fair share of the work. On November 24, he wrote Mr. Orcutt to go ahead and act on his own judgment in making bids, "only of course we do not want to lose any money."

Bids for construction of the two battleships were opened on November 30, 1895, amid protests from other shipbuilding companies against awarding the contract to the Newport News yard which was the lowest bidder. Mr. Huntington wrote on December 3:

The Government ships I have no doubt you will get. . . . I am fearful you bid too low; but I will say to you now, as I always have said, let there be no mistake about the quality of the work; that must be first-class, whatever the price of the bid.

After about a month of hearings and discussions in Washington the Newport News bid was found to be not only the lowest but the best and the contracts were so awarded. On January 2, 1896, the Government made contracts with the company for Hull 18, battleship *Kearsarge*, and Hull 19, battleship *Kentucky*. The vessels were of advanced design, and said to be the first to be wholly designed in America and built of American materials.²

Two results of the contract followed almost immediately: a charter for the incorporation of Newport News as a city granted by the General Assembly of Virginia, January 16, 1896, and an amendment to the shipyard charter to increase the maximum capital stock from \$3,000,000 to \$6,000,000; the minimum capital stock at that time was \$2,000,000.

In April 1896, following the contract for the two battleships, Mr. Huntington called attention to three other battleships proposed by the Government, bids for which were to be

opened in September. He desired Mr. Orcutt to bid on two of them if allowed to do so. On September 26, the Newport News yard was awarded the contract for building one of the vessels, Hull 21, battleship *Illinois*, the design for which was similar to that of the battleships contracted for in January but with numerous improvements. Cramp's yard was awarded the second of the group, the *Alabama*; and Union Iron Works the third, *Wisconsin*.

On March 24, 1898, occurred the double launching of the two battleships, *Kentucky* and *Kearsarge*, a notable event attended by thousands of people from all parts of the country, an especially large delegation from Kentucky.

On March 20, a few days before the launching Mr. Huntington had written a long letter to Mr. Orcutt expressing his dissatisfaction with the way affairs were handled at the yard, at the lack of unity among the officials, the slow progress on contracts:

. . . I shall be loth to give the yard much work until there has been sufficient change to satisfy me that the work will not only be done well but at less cost than heretofore. . . While I do not care so much about making money out of it myself, I do not want to lose money and would like enough to pay a reasonable interest on the plant. I should be perfectly willing, when we get to making money there, to divide a portion of the profits with those who do the work. . . .

Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Orcutt left for Newport News where he remained a month effecting a complete reorganization among plant officials.

On April 1, after the launching of the battleships, the General Superintendent, Sommers N. Smith, and his assistants severed their connection with the yard; Walter A. Post

was placed in charge as Assistant to the President; M. V. D. Doughty was appointed Superintendent of Hull Construction; James Rowbottom was made Superintendent of the Machinery Department; and other important changes effected. Mr. Huntington approved the reorganization and Mr. Orcutt's plan to spend more time at the plant, "something that should have been done before." He thought "the Gordian Knot had been cut to advantage, friction could no longer be borne." On May 3, he wrote:

. . . I have in the past been more careful about the quality of the work done than I have about the price we got for it, but of course you will realize, my dear Mr. Orcutt, that this cannot always continue. Maintaining always the principle that we must do first-class work, it behooves us now to see that we get paid in proportion to the value of the work. I must have some return for the immense investment of money in the Newport News plant.

On October 11, 1898, the Shipyard received the contract for building Hull 26, monitor *Arkansas*, and on December 30 following, contract for Hull 25, battleship *Missouri*. The *Kearsarge* was completed February 20, 1900, and the *Kentucky*, May 15, 1900, and both vessels placed in commission at the Shipyard pier.

The second group of freight steamers for the Morgan Line were authorized by the Southern Pacific Company early in 1898 through Mr. Huntington as agent, to replace the earlier group taken over by the Government. They were of the same dimensions and tonnage and were given the same names. Contracts for Hulls 22, 23, and 24, *El Sud*, *El Norte* and *El Rio*, respectively, were made on July 7, at the price of \$515,000 each; and for Hull 27, *El Cid*, on November 22, at

the same price. The tug *El Amigo* was built in 1899 to replace the tug *El Toro* sold to the Government for war purposes.

A third group of freight steamers for the Morgan Line were contracted for by the Shipyard on November 21, 1899. Hulls 34, 35, 36, and 37. *El Valle*, *El Dia*, *El Siglo*, and *El Alba* were of the same dimensions and tonnage of the previous ships with a few changes in the plans.

After negotiations had been carried on for several years, a contract was finally made with the Shipyard on January 30, 1899, for the construction of two passenger and freight steamships for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, Hulls 31 and 33, later named *Korea* and *Siberia*. In fact, a contract as early as December, 1891, had been made for the construction of three steamships for the Pacific Mail which had resulted in an extension of the yard but the contracts were canceled.

Soon after the contract for the *Korea* and *Siberia* was made, Mr. Huntington invited the superintendents and foremen of the shipyard to a dinner at the Hotel Warwick during which he said to them:

I am going to tell you just what I told the locomotive builders when I wanted some locomotives for my trans-continental railroad. I said, "I can afford to take just as poor a locomotive as you can afford to build." And so I want to tell you gentlemen that I can afford to take just as poor a ship as you can afford to build.³

When the *Korea* and *Siberia* sailed from Newport News in June and November, 1902, respectively, each carried on the wall of her music room a tablet bearing the engraved inscription of a paragraph from a speech by Mr. Huntington on May 16, 1900, with reference to the Pacific Mail. The en-

graving carried a facsimile signature of Mr. Huntington and read as follows:

Let us devote ourselves to the work of turning toward the United States the great commerce of the Orient which has for so many years been going westward and enriching the nations which have heretofore controlled that great traffic. We must turn the current of that trade from the setting to the rising sun.

From the time of the first contract by the Shipyard in 1890 to the close of the century, contracts had been made for thirty-four vessels, twenty-five of which had been completed and delivered, and nine were in the process of construction. Of this number, sixteen had been provided by Mr. Huntington for companies in which he held large interests, eight were contracts for the U. S. Government, and the remaining ten for various individuals and companies as follows: tug *Dorothy* for James Sheffield; pilot boat *John H. Estill* for the Savannah Pilots' Association; tug *Albert F. Dewey* for Albert F. Dewey; SS *La Grande Duchesse* and SS *Margaret* for the Plant Investment Company; tug *Sommers N. Smith* for the Pilots' Benevolent Association; SS *Creole*, SS *Comus* and SS *Proteus* for the Cromwell Steamship Company; SS *Newport News* for the Norfolk & Washington Steamship Company.

Repair work during this period had included work on some of the largest steamships in operation, the *New York*, *Paris*, and *St. Paul* of the American Line of the International Navigation Company, the SS *Main* of the North German Lloyd and many other smaller vessels. A number of reconversions had been made for Government service.

It may be remembered that through the 1890's a "little group of wilful men" of San Francisco endeavored by every foul means possible to wrest the Central Pacific Railroad

from Mr. Huntington's control; and how in March and April of 1896, he was brought before the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads in Washington and for six days subjected to the most insolent and trying interrogation by one of its members. Yet during this very time he was interested in getting Government and other contracts for the Shipyard as calmly and effectively as if that were his only enterprise.

On May 22, 1895, Mr. Huntington sailed for London. One of his objects in making the trip was to quiet the apprehensions of some foreign owners of Central Pacific stocks and bonds that had been aroused by the machinations and false alarms of the enemy. Another purpose of the trip was to interest the firm of Armstrong, Whitworth & Company of Newcastle-on-Tyne in the purchase of the Newport News Shipyard.

Late in the September following, Mr. A. Mackey of Dundee, Scotland, a representative of the Armstrong Company, came to Virginia to look over the plant and to visit the coal fields of Kanawha, West Virginia, which were also for sale. A year later Mr. Huntington announced that there was a possibility that others might become associated with him in the plant.

In December, 1897, it was reported that the Shipyard was to be enlarged to include an ordnance and armor plant. On his last visit to Newport News in August, 1900, Mr. Huntington announced that he proposed to establish a steel plant in connection with the Shipyard on a site two blocks east of the yard and bordering upon the spur railroad track.

It was later revealed that Mr. Huntington's price of "a trifle less than \$20,000,000" for the Shipyard was too high for the British capitalists.

Chapter LXIII

LA GRANDE DUCHESSE



WHILE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS were being made to establish a reputation for building good ships—the best ships—by the new shipbuilding plant at Newport News, one steamship, *La Grande Duchesse*, proved to be a veritable *bête noire*. Mr. Huntington estimated that the construction and aftermath of this vessel had injured the reputation of the yard to the extent of more than a half million dollars.

On June 17, 1893, Mr. Huntington sent Mr. Orcutt a letter from H. B. Plant, President of the Plant Investment Company, New York, requesting estimates on a proposed new steamship. Mr. Huntington wrote:

Herewith I send you a letter from H. B. Plant. I have written him that the very best will be done; that we want to build him some boats for two reasons: one is that we want the work very badly, and the other is that we want him to have the best boats that float on the water.

The preliminary design proved impracticable in many respects, and the negotiations which began then lasted until April 29, 1895, when a contract was signed for Hull 15, *La Grande Duchesse*. Mr. Huntington's promise of "the best ship that floats" is said to have imbued the shipyard management with an excess of zeal in the negotiations which the Plant people used to their advantage. Upon learning of the

contract, Mr. Huntington on May 8 wrote the following letter to Mr. Plant:

Mr. Orcutt, the President of our Shipbuilding Company at Newport News, advises me that you and he have entered, at last, into a contract which is to result in our giving you a ship, and I am exceedingly pleased to hear it and pleased for several reasons. One is, because we like to be busy; another is, because we like to do business with Mr. Plant; and the third is, because we want to have your company possess the best built ship it has ever had. I do not need to assure you that while we have given you a price that does not yield us much, still whether we make anything out of it or not, we propose to give you something in the way of a ship that will not merely be satisfactory to you in its style, the workmanship on it, and its performance, but that you will be so pleased with what the Newport News yard can do that you will not want any other concern to build your ships in the future.

La Grande Duchesse was launched January 30, 1896. By November of that year she had made three trial trips and was ready to sail to New York on her fourth trial trip, where she was expected to be accepted by her owners as a completed vessel. Full acceptance was not made, however; instead a provisional acceptance was made subject to satisfactory operation after six months of service.

She sailed from New York on November 28, 1896, and returned to the shipyard on May 27, 1897. She sailed again for New York in September, 1897, and was returned in the Spring of 1898, for new boilers. When built, water tube boilers had been installed at the insistence of the Plant people and had been found unsatisfactory. The Shipyard replaced these with new Scotch boilers built at the yard, after which a preliminary trial was made on June 20, 1898. She was chartered by the Government for transport service during

the latter part of the Spanish-American War, after which she was returned to the Shipyard and restored to her former condition for freight and passenger service. The owners, however, refused to accept her.

Several letters of Mr. Huntington to Mr. Orcutt on the subject of this ship leaves no doubt as to his opinion about the source of the trouble. On December 2, 1896, at the time of her fourth trial trip, he wrote:

. . . The *Grand Duchesse* has been delivered to her owners who owe \$92,000 on the purchase price and you say there is something over \$150,000 on the extras which will thus leave quite a loss to the yard on the building of the ship. It does seem to me that this amount should all have been worked up and presented and agreed upon before the ship left; then, if they wanted time, we would have given them time. . . . It seems to me that these things are not properly attended to.

On December 9, following, he asked that all details and the aggregate amount of work done be sent to him as soon as possible. His letter of June 8, 1897, showed disapproval of the way affairs were being handled in the Shipyard:

I notice in looking over accounts that the shipyard is doing very little, if anything, better than it has been. I would like to know if you have settled up with Mr. Plant and, if so, how. I think that was the worst job financially that was ever done in shipbuilding. We are very much behind and I hope the work can be so carried on in future that we will be able to get if not a new dollar for an old one, an old one for a new one.

While in London in 1897, after reading a paragraph in a financial paper that *La Grande Duchesse* had been returned to the shipyard and was considered a failure, he wrote on July 8:

. . . This is exceedingly unpleasant reading, although I know, of course, that we lost a great deal of money on her construction and that the whole business is unsatisfactory even to the getting of the money that Mr. Plant owes us on account of the extra work on the steamer. It was a mistake to try to experiment with new boilers, but of course I suppose you have exercised due care in making the company safe against loss on that item. I would like to know how our account with Mr. Plant stands now.

P.S. Before any more work at all is done on this steamer, you should have in writing, clearly defined, just what is to be done and how much it is going to cost: and the vessel should not be allowed to leave the yard until *all* the money due on her is forthcoming.

With reference to the change of boilers in the vessel, Mr. Huntington writes on April 5, 1898:

. . . I would like to know what is being done with the *Grand Duchesse* and just how her account stands. That is, just what Mr. Plant owes on her and what claim you are going to put against the boiler people. I would not go over the same work again if they would give me a half million dollars profit above the cost of construction, for I think the *Grand Duchesse* has damaged the reputation of the shipyard more than half a million dollars. . . .

In April 1898, a reorganization of the Shipyard management was made which quieted to some extent Mr. Huntington's apprehensions as to the future of the plant. On November 23, 1898, Mr. W. A. Post, recently placed in charge, reported to Mr. Orcutt that *La Grande Duchesse* had been completed on November 19, but the owners had declined to accept the vessel. Upon being requested for a statement of cost and extras, Mr. Post said it was impossible to produce such a statement as the specifications and record of accounts kept by the previous administration could not be found. The total cost of the ship to the yard was \$1,023,928 which was nearly twice the original contract price.

On January 14, 1899, Mr. Huntington suggested that he would see Mr. Plant himself and have a talk with him when he had recovered from an illness:

. . . I have known Mr. Plant many years, and I know him well enough to think that he would not wish me to lose any money that was for him to pay. I believe when he gets his health so that he and I can sit down and talk the matter over, we shall come to some arrangement that will be equitable and satisfactory to both parties. It is a subject over which I have several times almost lost my temper, and I have come to the conclusion that it had better be settled once and for all.

The proposed meeting never took place as Mr. Plant never recovered from his illness but died soon after. On April 3, 1899, from the Southern Pacific office in San Francisco, Mr. Huntington wrote his final letter to Mr. Orcutt on the subject:

Yours of the 29th has reached me on my arrival here, and I am glad to hear that Judge Harrison has given you a check for \$45,000 in settlement of the *Grand Duchesse* controversy, and that you have given therefor the Shipyard Company's receipt in full. This, as you say, ends a very disagreeable episode, and I hope with you, that the experience will bear good fruit hereafter. Mistakes are useful in teaching a better way, but when they are as costly as this one, I think you will see yourself that there is a limit to the profit to be gained from such experience. Do not for heaven's sake, let any more such mistakes mar the nice record that we have made, and we will agree to drop the subject for good and all, as we dropped the man who was principally, if not entirely, responsible for the blunder.

Let me know from time to time how you are getting on with the improvements and the work at the shipyard. You know I feel a deep interest in everything and your letters will be very acceptable.

La Grande Duchesse sailed from the Shipyard on April 9, 1899, in final possession of the owners, the Plant Improve-

ment Company. The vessel was due to have been delivered in the fall of 1896.

In 1901, the steamer was sold to the Savannah Line where her name was changed to *City of Savannah*. The Savannah Line sold her to the New York & Porto Rico Steamship Company in 1905, and she was renamed *Carolina*. She was operated on the Porto Rico Line for a number of years but was not profitable. Repairs were necessary after each voyage. The propulsive efficiency of the vessel had always been deficient due to the abnormal bossing out condition about the stern for the twin screw arrangement. This construction had been vehemently opposed by the Shipyard engineers from the first, but insisted upon by the Superintendent and General Manager of the Shipyard, which had resulted in his dismissal.

At the recommendation of Theodore E. Ferris, naval architect, it was decided to rebuild the vessel. She was returned to the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company where her faulty rounded stern was cut off, and she was changed from a twin screw to a single screw; and new boilers, new engines and auxiliaries installed. In the reconstruction, the *Carolina* gained about 1,000 tons deadweight, thirty-five per cent cargo cubic capacity, considerable passenger accommodations and other improvements. Her dimensions as remodelled were 405 ft. overall length, 379 ft. between perpendiculars, 36 ft. 7 in. depth to hurricane deck, and 47 ft. 8 in. molded beam. She developed greatly increased efficiency in propulsion and her speed increased from 13.5 knots to 16.5 knots.¹

In June, 1918, she was sunk by a German submarine off the Jersey coast. One of her lifeboats containing twenty-five persons was picked up, but fifteen lives were lost.

Chapter LXIV

“A SHIPYARD TO BE PROUD OF”



AT THE CLOSE of the year, 1890, Mr. John G. Livezey, Chief Clerk at the Shipyard Office, reported that the gross business of the yard from the beginning of operation in April, 1889, amounted to \$505,194.00, upon which was shown a net profit of \$130,173.00. While this could by no means be regarded as a clear profit, as Mr. Huntington well knew, yet his comment was, “Results are certainly very satisfactory.” This was the first, last and only such expression by him to be found with respect to the earnings of the Shipyard.

On nearly every vessel built at the Yard during the ten-year period from 1890 to 1900, the cost of construction was greater than the contract price of the ship; in some cases as we have seen, the losses were very heavy. From the records of the Treasurer’s Office during that decade are found demands upon Mr. Huntington for cash to meet expenses. These requests appear to have been met cheerfully, although he repeatedly admonished Mr. Orcutt to be careful about wasting money.

On February 10, 1894, Mr. Gates wrote Mr. Orcutt to say that while he was glad to know that the Shipyard force was to be increased, he wished Mr. Orcutt to impress upon the yard people the necessity for economy “as they seem

actuated by the idea that there are unlimited resources to draw upon." Mr. Gates resented the ease with which drafts were made upon Mr. Huntington. There are given herewith a few excerpts from the Treasurer's Records and other accounts of expenditures.

On September 10, 1894, Mr. Huntington paid a bill of \$1,760 for connecting water pipes to his brick houses; and on November 20, sent a check for \$5,000 to pay taxes; another for \$600 to pay school expenses.

On August 8, 1895, Mr. Gates reported that Mr. Huntington had furnished \$280,000 for the Shipyard account since the first of January.

On July 2, 1896, Mr. Gates wrote Mr. Orcutt that the cash sent the Yard so far that year had amounted to \$522,500. On December 2 of the same year, Mr. Huntington made a mild protest to Mr. Orcutt:

Bills against the Shipyard are coming in all the while and somehow I do not feel that the best possible care is being exercised in the financial part of the business.

In the year 1897, between January 1 and April 28, Mr. Huntington had paid to the Shipyard the sum of \$342,000; on May 25, he sent a check for \$45,000 to meet payrolls and notes; and on November 15, he paid \$974.50 for taxes. Mr. Huntington's letter to Mr. Orcutt on October 6 of that year states the reason for his willingness to meet the heavy expenditures of cash:

You say you have been making extraordinary efforts to bring about the best possible results. The losses for some considerable time were so great that I think very few men would have continued the work under the burden of the large current losses; but I have always had great faith in the yard becoming a great success, and that belief

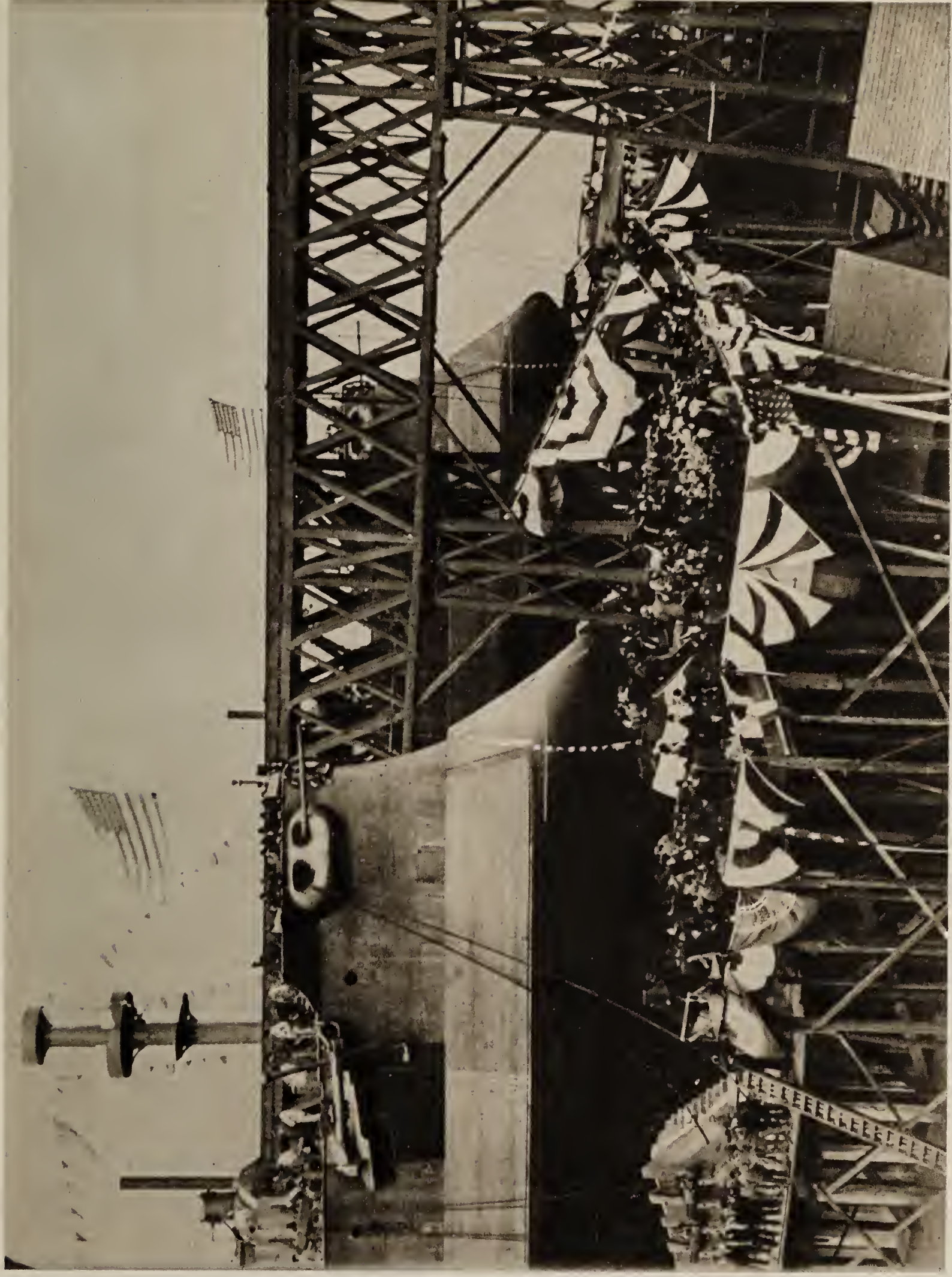
is growing with me now. Unless we make some such arrangement as is being talked about [sale of the plant] I propose to spend considerable more money there to make it a yard that everyone connected with it will be proud of.

In answer to a letter from Mr. Orcutt, he wrote on May 20, 1898, that he noted what he had to say about the necessary drafts that were made upon him in connection with emergency work being done in the Yard. The amount of the drafts was not disclosed.

Another heavy expenditure borne entirely by Mr. Huntington was the construction of Dry Dock No. 2, authorized July 1, 1898. The work was to be done by a force independent of the shipyard under the personal supervision of Mr. Post and all costs charged to Mr. Huntington's account. Plans embodied the latest improvements and the following dimensions: length on top, 827 feet; length inside the caisson, 806 feet; breadth at top, 162 feet; breadth at bottom, 80 feet; depth over the sill, 30 feet at mean high tide.

In February, 1899, another contract was drawn by Mr. Huntington to cover advances made by him for improvements to the Shipyard. It included the new dry dock and pump house complete; about \$1,000,000 additional for the necessary filling and construction of six new shipways with trestles and cranes; two new piers and extensions to Piers 2 and 4; a copper shop and storeroom, and several other improvements.

On March 23 of the same year, Mr. Huntington was asked for \$125,000 to enlarge the electric power plant. In sending a check for this amount, Mr. Huntington wrote, "There seems to be no end to the money I am called upon to pay for this shipyard."



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

*U.S.S. Kentucky and Kearsage Battleships Ready for Launching
at the Newport News Shipyard, March 24, 1898*



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

S.S. Korea, Pacific Mail Steamer, Nearing Completion at the Newport News Shipyard, 1902

On May 19, 1900, Mr. Gates reported \$418,000 paid by Mr. Huntington so far that year, and he said, "We are running behind \$100,000 per month."

Mr. Huntington's insistence upon learning all details in connection with Shipyard affairs¹ and his lessons in economy are well-illustrated by the following letters. On December 9, 1896, he wrote to Mr. Orcutt concerning a proposed new crane:

. . . The crane will cost complete \$120,000; \$25,000 for the foundation and \$95,000 for the balance of the work including the necessary metal. Now I would like it better if I had been told how the \$25,000 was to be used; how many barrels of cement and the kind required to make the concrete necessary to fill the caisson; also, what would be the prices of the cast steel and iron and something about the shapes. I would like to know what the 340,000 pounds of steel will cost per pound; and how much the 135,000 pounds of cast iron will cost per pound; and how much per pound for the 140,000 pounds of plates, shapes and rivets; and the 10,000 pounds of forgings. All these things can be given very nearly correctly. Of course the amount of work to be done we can only approximate, although we ought to be able to get pretty near the cost.

Having received the detailed information desired, Mr. Huntington wrote on December 21:

You can go on and build the derrick with the understanding that the cost will not exceed \$100,000. When you have some drawings and specifications of the work, I wish you would let me see them, I would like the work done by contract.

The following letter accompanied a check sent November 21, 1895, to cover the cost of repairs to his houses in Newport News and expenses of the school:

. . . I do not think any such item as four dollars for advertising the opening of school should have been put in. It is a free school

for the children of the people working in the Shipyard and they would all know when school commences. . . . All that needed to be done was to say to the newspapers when the school was to start and they, no doubt, would be glad to publish it as a piece of news. . . . I have always been in the habit of looking as carefully after small expenses as large ones.

This habit was shown when he visited the shipyard in its early days. He would dig bolts and rivets out of the ground with his cane and ask the men in a half-serious, half-joking way if that was what they were doing with his good money.²

Mr. Huntington knew the work of the plant on which men were engaged so well that after his second visit to Europe in 1897, he wrote to Mr. Orcutt rather proudly that he did not think there was any shipyard in Europe that did not have three men to do the work that one man performed in the Newport News Shipyard.

In August, 1900, Mr. Huntington came to Newport News on what happened to be his last visit. In an interview reported by the *Cleveland Marine Review*, August 9, he was quoted as saying that he considered shipbuilding prospects very favorable and called attention to the improvements in progress at the Yard, the new dry dock, the six new shipways, and piers. While there was not much money in Government vessels, he would like to bid on the battleships, or the six armored cruisers, or on all of them then under consideration by the Navy Department, as the Shipyard could be extended as far north as was necessary.

On the 14th of August, Newport News and the Shipyard were stunned by the news of the sudden death of Mr. Huntington. A later telegram came from Mr. Orcutt, evidently to quiet any apprehensions that may have arisen, to say that

all Mr. Huntington's interests at Newport News had been provided for before his death, and all work authorized by him would be continued as before.

With regard to meeting future expenses of the plant, Mr. Gates wrote to Mr. Orcutt on September 25, as follows:

We no longer have Mr. Huntington's bank account to fall back upon to help us out of tight places, and the yard must, from this time on, take care of itself. I see no good reason why it should not, especially as other yards not as well arranged for business, nor as thoroughly equipped with modern appliances, earn dividends on their capital.

Chapter LXV

WE BUILD GOOD SHIPS HERE



EARLY IN THE misty morning of Sunday, June 22, 1952, at six o'clock, a long sleek steamship left her birthplace, the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company, turned her prow eastward and headed for the open sea. She sailed out of the James River, across Hampton Roads, through the Capes of Chesapeake Bay, and turned northward toward her home port of New York where she arrived on the morning of June 23. As she approached the entrance to New York harbor she was met by a flotilla of all kinds of water craft that escorted her to her berth with the most tumultuous welcome ever accorded a ship in that harbor.

On the afternoon of Sunday, July 3, at 12:07 o'clock, the superliner *United States* left her home port on her maiden voyage across the Atlantic. As she sped away from New York harbor, the Cunard liner *Mauretania* coming in radioed: "Godspeed to all on board!" She passed Ambrose Lightship at 2:36 in the afternoon and Bishop's Rock in three days, ten hours, and forty minutes, setting a new Atlantic speed record for steamships.

As the *United States* approached the English Coast, Southampton roared a welcome to the new "Lady of the Seas." Vessels of every description, many of them packed with cheering throngs, lined the channel through which the ship

passed, while a jet plane hurtled overhead. Through the shrill whistles could be heard an occasional deep bass note, the voice of the *United States* in response. As the great ship was warped to her dock, a cannon salute brought the demonstration to a close.

The new steamship *United States* that created so much enthusiasm and admiration both at home and abroad and about which millions of words have been written in newspapers and magazines and spoken over the radio, is Hull 488, the last completed product at this writing of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company. Her builders say that she embodies all of the accumulated knowledge gained during sixty-two years of continuous shipbuilding.

She was designed by the firm of Gibbs and Cox, naval architects of New York, who said that the quality of shipbuilding that went into the construction of the *United States* was the finest they had ever seen anywhere.

The contract was awarded the Newport News Shipyard on May 3, 1949; the keel was laid February 8, 1950; she was launched June 23, 1951, seventy per cent completed; and on June 20, 1952, delivered to her owners, the United States Lines. She is 990 feet in length, 101.5 feet in width (narrow enough to pass through the Panama Canal), and 39 feet draft, gross tonnage 53,329.

Four high-pressure steam turbines drive four giant propellers and generate 158,000 normal horsepower, maximum horsepower not announced. Her maximum speed is also a secret but it is known that she has made 36-plus knots. The ship is fireproof and so designed as to be readily converted into a crack military transport to carry 14,000 troops half-way around the world non-stop.

The Newport News Shipyard that produced Hull 488, the SS *United States*, has had a remarkable growth since the year 1900 and an enviable record in shipbuilding and repair work. The plant now extends from 31st Street on the south to 70th Street on the north except for intervals amounting to several hundred feet above 56th Street owned by private individuals. It has an area of 264 acres including the foundry and scrapyards, and a waterfront of one and half miles. Forty-four acres of this area and 1,400 feet of the waterfront are leased from the Navy. The greatest breadth extends from the Main Office at Washington Avenue to the river in a line of 2,100 feet.

All wharves, piers, shipyards, dry docks and flotation basins are laid on the river at deep water where ample berthing space is provided for fitting out new ships and for ships undergoing repairs. Back of the waterfront facilities are the storage yards and warehouses; machine, boiler, blacksmith and other shops; and numerous other buildings essential to the work and to plant maintenance.

A spur track from the main line of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway passes by the foundry, enters the Yard and spreads out fan-like into numerous tracks that pass between the buildings and between the piers, shipways and drydocks, the aggregate length of which amounts to twenty and one-half miles. Numerous cranes of various types are located throughout the yard for handling armament, machinery, etc. Fronting on Washington Avenue is located the three-story brick building that houses the offices and Engineering Department. This building is undergoing extensive expansion.¹ It has been said that no other shipbuilding plant in the world equals the Newport News Shipyard in the excellence of its location and the quality and abundance of its facilities and equipment.

After Mr. Huntington's death in 1900, C. B. Orcutt continued his administration of the plant with the capable assistance of Walter A. Post who had assumed the title of General Manager on January 1, 1905, with offices at the Yard. Mr. Orcutt died at Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, on January 30, 1911. On March 9, following, Mr. Post became a Director and the President of the Company, a position he held less than a year. He died suddenly on February 12, 1912.

On February 19, Albert L. Hopkins was elected Vice-President of the Company and transferred to the New York office. Mr. Hopkins had been made an assistant to Mr. Post in 1898 and Manager of the Works on April 1, 1911. On March 14, 1914, he was elected President of the Company, but lost his life in the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915.

On July 22, 1915, Homer L. Ferguson was elected President and General Manager of the Shipyard, the first president to retain his business offices at the plant. E. P. Palen was appointed an Assistant to the President to take over the New York office, and S. L. Wood and W. H. Benson were appointed Assistants to the President at the Yard.

Mr. Ferguson was a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis in the class of 1892, and three years later had received a diploma from the Glasgow University. He had been connected with the Newport News Yard since 1902 as Assistant Constructor, USN, on the staff of Naval Constructor A. W. Stahl. In 1905, he resigned from the Navy and on February 3, of that year reported for duty at the Newport News plant as Superintendent of Hull Construction. On October 1, 1911, during Mr. Post's administration, Mr. Ferguson was made General Superintendent of Construction,

and on February 19, 1912, he became General Manager in charge of the plant at the time Mr. Hopkins was elected to the Presidency.

As General Manager, Mr. Ferguson began in 1912 a series of changes in the management and improvements in the operation of the plant which continued throughout his administration as President.

Among the first changes to which Mr. Ferguson gave attention upon becoming General Manager were those for the comfort and welfare of the employees. He ordered more drinking fountains and toilets placed in convenient locations in the Yard. Safety signs were posted throughout the Yard and a Safety Committee of workmen organized on June 10, 1913, to give special attention to ways and means of preventing injuries and accidents.

Mr. Ferguson's consideration for the employees and the friendly interest shown them developed, as one writer has said, "an employee-management relation unique in shipbuilding." Never in the history of the Shipyard has there been a stoppage of the works; agreements have been reached through negotiation. The men themselves have fought off all attempts to unionize them. The Peninsula Shipbuilding Association was organized on January 18, 1940, as the collective bargaining agency for the workmen.

Mr. Ferguson regarded Mr. Huntington's many admonitions to build good ships regardless of profit or loss, and his generosity in bearing the losses, as highly exceptional and worthy of wide and permanent recognition. A slogan was formulated that embodied those sentiments, inscribed on a bronze tablet and mounted on a granite block nine feet in



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Newport News Shipbuilding Plant, September 1946, Aerial View



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Huntington Monument at the Newport News Shipyard with the Slogan of the Company

height which was erected on January 1, 1917, on a grassy plot near the Main Office along the roadside where all passers-by could read:

We shall build good ships here;
At a profit, if we can;
At a loss, if we must;
But always good ships.

o

Collis Potter Huntington

Following the example of the Founder, the shipyard officials have shown a keen interest in the city of Newport News, contributing generously to the Red Cross, Community Chest, Library Fund, and other welfare organizations, and always responding to emergencies as in the influenza epidemic of 1918.

At the beginning of ship construction and repair in the Newport News plant, skilled mechanics and engineers had to be brought from other sections of the country and from abroad. Native labor consisted largely of Negroes who with experience became proficient in certain kinds of work. Mr. Huntington told of an incident that happened upon one of his visits to the Shipyard. He was standing near a large machine in one of the buildings when the colored operator turned to him and said: "Mr. Huntington, you have trusted us; we shall not disappoint you." Then he turned to his machine as if to say, "No words of mine can speak so well as this."

The Yard has continued to employ Negro labor in large numbers. They receive equal pay for equal work, and are

retired with pensions upon the same qualifications as the white men. Many of the colored men own their own homes in a good section of the city. The management encourages the men to build houses, sometimes lending them money; sometimes building groups of houses which are sold to them at cost.

Upon one occasion, Mrs. Huntington, widow of the founder, said to Mr. Ferguson that she regarded his operation of the Shipyard more in the manner and method of Collis Potter Huntington than that of any other President. Mr. Ferguson said that he valued this as one of the finest compliments he had ever received.

When the United States in 1917 entered the war that had engulfed Europe in 1914, the Shipyard had on hand a large naval program and a large housing program which provided homes for thousands of Yard workmen and their families.

After the close of the war and the Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armament had declared a ten-year naval holiday, Newport News and the Shipyard suffered their greatest depression. All naval work at the Yard was ordered by a telegram on February 8, 1922, to be suspended and the force dwindled to about 2,000 men. Later, the battleship *West Virginia* was ordered to be completed, but the battleship *Iowa* and the battle cruiser *Constellation*, although on the ways in the process of construction, were ordered scrapped. While the keel of the battle cruiser *Ranger* had not been laid, considerable preparatory work had been done but this contract, too, was cancelled.

The Yard had contracts for a few merchant vessels, and on February 15, 1922, had secured the contract for reconditioning the giant SS *Leviathan* from a troopship at the

price of \$6,000,000, \$1,000,000 less than cost ("At a loss, if we must!"), but the plant needed much more work to give men employment and to keep the technical force together. Under the leadership of Mr. Ferguson, the directors and staff decided to branch out into other fields of construction. For this the charter had to be amended, buildings enlarged, new machinery and other equipment installed for rebuilding locomotives, repairing and building freight cars, Diesel engines, and machinery of various kinds.

The Shipyard became world renowned for building hydraulic turbines. More than sixty were built for locations in thirty-three states, among them Muscle Shoals, Hoover Dam, Morris Dam and Grand Coulee Dam; and a number for foreign countries. The largest turbines in the world at that time were built for the Dnieprostroi Dam on the Dnieper River in Russia, the nine turbines developing 765,000 horsepower. The construction of turbines was such a success that the Company continued building them as standard work.

When the United States entered the war in December 1941, the Shipyard was putting through an extraordinary program of naval construction. The entire force had entered into the work with zest. A joint Employee-Management War Production Drive Committee was formed to smooth out difficulties as they arose. A subsidiary plant, the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company, was established at Wilmington, North Carolina, to build steamships of the Liberty, C-2, AKA, and other military types of which 243 were constructed in an effort to meet partially the needs of Britain and to strengthen our own position.

A specialty of the Newport News Yard at this time was construction of the aircraft carrier. The Yard had designed

and built the *Ranger* in 1934. Other contracts for carriers followed until the Yard had built fourteen of various sizes. Now on the ways at the yard in the process of construction is the largest aircraft carrier ever designed, 1,042 feet in length, to be named *Forrestal*.²

For excellence in ship construction, the Shipyard was presented with the Navy E. banner on February 14, 1942, by Admiral Cox, navy supervisor, in a simple ceremony beside the Huntington monument. Emphasis was placed upon the following factors: Completion of work ahead of contract schedules; ingenuity in overcoming obstacles; reliability of the company; willingness to assume difficult tasks; and genuine cooperation. There followed several stars placed in the banner at intervals.

On May 10, 1940, after a year of negotiation, the Newport News Shipyard, which had been in the Huntington family fifty-four years, was sold to a group of seventeen well-known investment firms acting through the Union Securities Corporation for approximately \$18,000,000. Prior to the sale of the plant 100,000 shares of common stock at \$100.00 par value had been owned by Archer M. Huntington and various trusts set up by him. The estate of Henry E. Huntington of Los Angeles held 26,000 shares. No change was made in the management, operating organization, or policies of the company. The management had contracted to serve five years under the conditions as they were at the time of sale.

On December 31, 1947, after forty-two years service for the Shipyard, thirty-two years as chief officer, Mr. Ferguson was retired to become Chairman of the Company's Board of Directors. He had resigned a year earlier but, at the request of the owners, remained in office until the end of 1947.



COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Spiral Casings of the 84,000 H.P. Hydraulic Turbine, Furnished to the U.S.S.R. Dnieprostroy Development



RANGER - LENGTH - 769 FEET - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 14,500 TONS - DELIVERED 1934



ENTERPRISE - LENGTH - 824 FEET-9 INCHES - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 20,000 - TONS - DELIVERED 1938



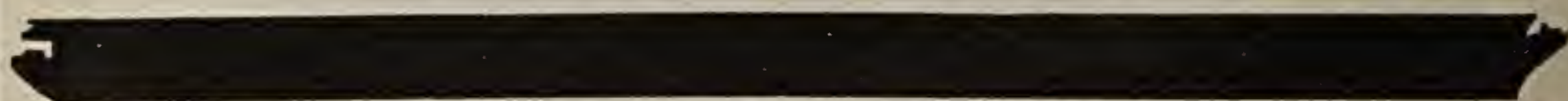
ESSEX - LENGTH - 855 FEET-9 INCHES - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 27,100 - TONS - DELIVERED 1942



TICONDEROGA - LENGTH - 888 FEET - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 27,100 TONS - DELIVERED 1944



MIDWAY - LENGTH - 968 FEET - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 45,000 TONS - DELIVERED 1945



HULL - 486 - LENGTH - 1090 FEET - STANDARD DISPLACEMENT - 65,000 TONS - SCHEDULED 1952

COURTESY OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK COMPANY

Types of Carriers Built by the Company for the U. S. Navy

Mr. John Brockenbrough Woodward, Jr., was elected President and General Manager of the Company in 1946 to succeed Mr. Ferguson, and became head officer on January 1, 1948. He has been connected with the Shipyard since 1914, when he accepted a position as draftsman. He was advanced steadily from one important position to another, General Manager in 1936, Vice-President and General Manager in 1940, and President in 1946. Mr. Ferguson said of him:

It is no accident that made Mr. Woodward President of the company. His sterling qualities of leadership and administrative ability have long been recognized. He is well qualified to carry on the traditions and ideals of the company.

The superliner *United States* was produced during Mr. Woodward's administration, a fine example of his executive ability.

The growth, qualifications, and accomplishments of the Newport News Shipyard to its present state is but the fulfillment of the vision of Collis Potter Huntington whose faith in its ultimate success was the motive power that enabled him to put millions of dollars in the enterprise in the face of continual operation losses.

Chapter LXVI

“THE FEVER OF LIFE IS OVER AND OUR WORK IS DONE”



DEATH CAME to Collis Potter Huntington on the night of August 13, 1900, at Pine Knot Lodge, his camp near Raquette Lake in the Adirondack Mountains. He and Mrs. Huntington had spent the evening with some guests and friends from neighboring camps, and he had retired to his room about eleven o'clock when he was suddenly stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage. Mrs. Huntington and his secretary, Mr. George E. Miles, hurried to his assistance and dispatched a messenger to a camp nearby for a doctor. Mr. Huntington died just before midnight, not having regained consciousness.

Mr. and Mrs. Huntington had left New York on Friday the 10th and arrived at Raquette Lake in their private car over the Raquette Lake Railway, whence they were conveyed by the little motor boat *Oneonta* to the camp, Mr. Huntington's favorite dwelling place. A stay at the camp was the nearest to a vacation that Mr. Huntington ever indulged. Even on such occasions he took along his secretary and typewriter and worked during the greater part of the time. On the morning of the 13th, after a session with his secretary, he had walked about the camp and sailed around the lake with friends in the little motor boat, apparently in the best of health.

His sudden death was a crushing blow to his family and a shock to thousands of his friends, employees, and others throughout the industrial world. Telegrams of condolence poured in from all sections of the country and from abroad.¹

On Wednesday, August 15, at 4:30 in the afternoon, Mr. Huntington's body was conveyed to Grand Central Station, whence it was at once removed to the residence on Fifth Avenue. Accompanying the body were Mrs. Huntington, Mr. Archer M. Huntington and his wife; Mrs. Mansfield Hillhouse; Mr. and Mrs. I. E. Gates; Miss Campbell, Mrs. Huntington's companion; Dr. W. B. Coley; and the servants. The coffin was of unusual size made of cedar and covered with black broadcloth, fitted with heavy oxidized silver handles. A plate of the same material inscribed with the name and date, August 13, 1900, was attached to the coffin.²

Funeral services were held at eleven o'clock on Friday, August 17, at the residence, in the presence of relatives and a few personal friends. Mr. Huntington was adverse to pomp and display and had expressed a desire to be put away when the time came as simply and quietly as possible. The services were conducted by the Rev. A. W. Halsey, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, after which the body was moved to the family mausoleum at Woodlawn Cemetery. Brief burial services were held and the body placed in a crypt at the right side of the door of the mausoleum and closed by a large marble slab placed over the opening of the burial chamber. The pallbearers were D. Ogden Mills, Edward Ling, Frederick P. Olcott, Edwin Hawley, C. H. Tweed, Martin Erdman, R. T. Schwerin, and C. Adolphe Low. The floral offerings were in profusion and of great beauty.

In honor of Mr. Huntington every wheel of the great Southern Pacific system of railroads was stopped for seven minutes at eleven o'clock, the day and hour of the funeral. This was said to be the first time in the history of American railroads that there had been a total suspension of business on any railroad system as a mark of respect to the memory of any man. The Newport News Shipyard was closed the day of the funeral and every flag in the city was flown at half-mast; business houses were closed during the hour of the funeral. A large floral offering in the form of a battleship was sent by the citizens of Newport News.³

In San Francisco, where so much opposition to Mr. Huntington and his railroad policies had been shown, a memorial service was held for him in the First Presbyterian Church at the same hour as the funeral in New York. The various companies with which Mr. Huntington was connected in California were represented from the highest official to the humblest employee. Men and women from every walk of life, professional and commercial, filled the edifice to join in the tribute. Clergymen of all creeds were present and assisted in the service. The Rev. Robert Mackensie made the address in which he said:

The generalship of your chief was never more fully illustrated than in his death. Reading the list of industries with which he was connected, the division of the army in which he held command, the amazing thing is that all were so knitted and deftly balanced that the passing of the master spirit leaves them moving on without a pause. If a wheel stops to-day it is in obedience to orders, not for lack of them. If you turn from your desks for an hour, it is in the pause of respect, not in the panic of uncertainty. In the death of such a man, if not prepared for, there was latent power to stop a thousand wheels and bring panic to ten thousand homes.



Huntington House at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street, New York



Entrance Court of the Fifth Avenue House

Resolutions of sympathy and expressions of high regard came to Mrs. Huntington and the family from the Boards of Directors of various companies with which Mr. Huntington had been connected. Newspapers and magazines throughout the country recorded the passing of this great figure of the industrial and financial world. Here follow some estimates of his character as expressed:

"Indomitable courage in overcoming great natural obstacles . . . his considerate and conciliatory nature which had overcome accusation and detraction, and without violence or bitterness had overmastered his enemies."⁴

"Wise in counsel, unwearied in effort, courageous in the face of the greatest difficulties, patient in unavoidable delays, with a foresight well nigh prophetic."⁵

"His faith in the people of Mexico was unswerving. 'We are in their country,' he would say, 'see that they get all the benefits they can derive from what we do there.'"⁶

"He firmly believed in the dignity of labor, and that the truest charity consists in affording opportunities for worthy persons, through industry, to help themselves."⁷

"Mr. Huntington's intellectual ability, his courage, energy, and patience, and gift of creative imagination combined to create a colossal figure in our social and industrial history."⁸

"That a man should have lived so long under pressure and be working as hard at seventy-nine as at twenty-nine is little short of marvelous."⁹

"He had no fads although he was devoted to art, and for a man of his early schooling and hustling pioneer life, well-read and a lover of books. He was a quiet man, devoted to his home, never speculated and was always serene."¹⁰

"His passing was announced from the rostrum of the New York Stock Exchange of which he had been a member since January 29, 1885. The stockmarket was unaffected by his death because it was known that he had so arranged the affairs of his corporations as to provide for any personal happening."¹¹

"His honesty and integrity in all his dealings with moneyed men and capitalists amounting to \$100,000,000 have gained for him a position which places him at the head of financiers of this country. That the stockmarket was not affected by his death, nor his many interests suffered reverses was a great tribute to his foresight and ability."¹²

"The accomplishment of a great public undertaking gave to Mr. Huntington's career a completeness that has been vouchsafed to few men in the world's history."¹³

Collis Potter Huntington was an imposing figure that attracted attention wherever he went and in any group. From his father he had inherited his height of more than six feet, a massive frame and muscular build of great strength. He had strong regular features, blue-gray eyes that could become steely or beam with kindly interest as occasion arose, and a thick handsome beard that in his later years was almost white. He became almost bald and wore a black skullcap in his office. He was always neatly dressed and after middle age wore a black frock coat and a black tie. He wore no jewelry except a gold watch chain across his vest and a thin gold ring on the little finger of his left hand.

His personal appearance was but the manifestation of the intellectual power and great mental force that carried him through the years of his remarkable career to the day of his death with those powers but little diminished. He lived

simply, rising early and retiring early, giving most of the day to work. When at the office he lunched, as did his clerks, in a restaurant of the Mills Building in which his office was located. He never used tobacco and it was his boast that he never knew the taste of alcoholic liquors until after he was fifty years of age. His favorite drink was tea which he drank at every meal. He rarely ate meat in the summertime, "too heating," he said, "occasionally a small piece of fish."

At the time of his death, his immediate family to whom he was most devoted, consisted of his wife, Mrs. Arabella Duval Huntington; her son, Archer Milton Huntington; the adopted daughter, the Princess Clara von Hatzfeldt; and his nephew, Henry Edwards Huntington. To these four persons, Mr. Huntington left the bulk of his fortune. A large number of bequests were left to other relatives and friends, among them Isaac E. Gates, his brother-in-law who had been his "right hand man" for many years.

Mr. Huntington's real estate holdings included four residences, several fine hotels or large interests in them; large farming and undeveloped lands in California, West Virginia, Mexico, and Guatemala; a plot of twenty lots on Riverside Drive, New York; and building lots in San Francisco, Oakland and Santa Monica. He owned also large coal fields in West Virginia and the Fuente Coal Tract in Mexico for which he is said to have paid \$500,000. The value and extent of his estate excited much interest and conjecture, especially among some of the San Francisco newspapers which named the sum of \$80,000,000 as the amount of his fortune. This they were compelled to correct when the facts became known. A telegraphic dispatch from San Francisco on August 14, 1900, to the New York *Herald* read as follows:

Scarcely had the news of Collis Potter Huntington's death been verified when Public Administrator Boland sent for his attorney. After consultation, it was decided to apply for special letters of administration upon that portion of Mr. Huntington's estate located in California. When the petition was presented to Presiding Judge Bahrs, he refused to assign the case to any court, saying that undue haste was displayed and that it was unnecessary and improper at this early date.

The various homes of Mr. Huntington represented different phases of his career. When he brought the first Mrs. Huntington from Oneonta to Sacramento, they occupied rooms above the Huntington & Hopkins Hardware Store. Later a residence was built on M Street between Third and Fourth Street,¹⁴ in which they resided until they left for New York in December 1862 in the interest of the newly organized Central Pacific Railroad Company. In New York, with their little niece whom they had adopted, they went to live in the old Metropolitan Hotel at the corner of Broadway and Pierce Streets.¹⁵

On November 7, 1867, Mr. Huntington wrote to Mr. Hopkins that he had become tired of boarding and had purchased a house at 65 Park Avenue for \$50,000. Another reason he gave for acquiring a permanent residence in New York was to quiet the arguments of the Union Pacific Railroad Company who claimed that they were a New York company whose directors lived there; while the Central Pacific Railroad Company was a California company, that all their directors lived in California and that was a long way to go for information, "So now I can tell them I always expect to live in New York." In this house Mr. Huntington's first wife died after an illness of several months. Here he



Stairway of Mexican Onyx in the Fifth Avenue House



Ceiling of the Fifth Avenue House

brought his second wife who was a Mrs. Worsham, formerly Miss Arabella Duval Yarrington from Alabama, a tall attractive young lady of great vivacity who possessed a keen appreciation of beautiful surroundings. The Huntingtons, with Mrs. Huntington's young son whom Mr. Huntington adopted, lived in this house while the Fifth Avenue house was being built, making several trips to Europe in the meantime. From this house Clara Prentice Huntington left for London, to become the bride of Prince Francis von Hatzveldt de Wildenberg of Germany, on October 28, 1889.

The residence at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street in New York was of "princely magnificence" and notable among all the palatial structures of multi-millionaires in New York. The architect was George B. Post who completed the building in 1893 at a cost of over \$2,500,000. Mr. Huntington took great interest in its construction and is said to have supervised every detail. An interesting feature of the house was the grand stairway, sixteen feet wide and of two flights, built of selected white statuary marble and Mexican onyx at the contract price of \$190,000. An unusual feature of the house was the interior court surmounted by a large dome which lighted the whole of the dwelling from roof to ground floor. Along the sides of the court were balconies divided by splendid marble columns from which one could look down on the court below. The house was richly furnished and included canvasses by great artists, beautiful tapestries and other handsome works of art.¹⁶ Mrs. Arabella Duval Huntington died in this house on September 16, 1924. After her death the house was torn down and a commercial building erected on the site. The firm of Tiffany is now located at this corner.

Another residence acquired by Mr. Huntington was "The Homestead," a charming country house at Throgg's Neck in Westchester County, New York, valued at \$250,000 which he had purchased from Mr. H. O. Havemeyer together with three tracts of land containing one hundred and thirteen acres. This big rambling house commanded a beautiful view of Long Island Sound. Mr. Huntington added a tower to each side of the house and had the veranda widened. Other buildings on the grounds included a farm house and conservatories. When at Throgg's Neck, the Huntingtons attended St. Peter's Church of which the Rev. Dr. Clendenin was rector. This house was sold after Mr. Huntington's death.

When the Huntingtons were at San Francisco they resided in their home at the corner of California and Taylor Streets on Nob Hill which they had purchased from Mrs. David Colton about 1892 at the price of \$500,000 according to newspaper reports. This house was said to be the most beautiful and artistic on Nob Hill. It contained a large collection of fine paintings, which with other personal property, was held in the name of Mrs. Huntington and insured for \$1,000,000. When in residence here Mr. Huntington kept in almost hourly touch with his assistant, Mr. I. E. Gates, at the New York office. This dwelling with all its art treasures and the handsome buildings belong to the estates of Crocker, Hopkins, and Stanford were burned in the fire following the earthquake of April 1906. Sometime later Mrs. Huntington presented the site of this house to the city of San Francisco for a children's park and playground, known as the Huntington Park.

Pine Knot Lodge, where Mr. Huntington passed away, was constructed and once occupied by Mr. William West Durant



Library in the Fifth Avenue House



Art Objects in the Fifth Avenue House

who sold it to Mr. Huntington for \$350,000. The camp was situated on the southern shore of Raquette Lake in the Adirondacks. It occupied a large tract of territory in the heart of the wilderness and was said to be one of the most beautiful camps in the world and Mr. Huntington's favorite place of residence. The main house contained parlors, two dining rooms, a dozen sleeping rooms and bath rooms. The servants occupied separate quarters called the keeper's house, and there were a number of small rustic lodges.

The Mausoleum, Mr. Huntington's last resting place, is situated in Woodlawn Cemetery in Westchester County, New York. This Mausoleum is 42 feet long, 28 feet wide, and 24 feet high. The gates are of bronze, and the interior of Italian marble. It contains sixteen crypts or burial chambers. The architecture is that of a Roman temple of the Doric order. Over the top of the door is the single word in plain letters: HUNTINGTON. Each tier of the steps is hewn from a single piece of granite. The main platform is a single stone weighing forty tons. The foundation extends sixteen feet underground. The mausoleum was five years under construction and cost \$250,000.¹⁷

Beside the mausoleum has been erected a memorial to Mrs. Collis Potter Huntington, designed and executed by Anna Hyatt Huntington. The inscription by her son, Archer Milton Huntington, reads as follows:

ARABELLA HUNTINGTON
MADRE

Alas, we know your deeds, your words make warm
The memory of our loss; so, in the night,
We dreaming, find the dark in starlight's spell,
And know that from your eyes that starlight fell.

Mr. Huntington's mode of travel during his later years was in great contrast to the time of the construction of the Central Pacific when he would go from New York to Washington on the so-called sleeping cars of that period, labor with the Members of Congress during the day and return to New York at night. A neighbor, in speaking of Mr. Huntington said that he would frequently be on the train five nights in succession and that travel then was so fatiguing none but a person of Mr. Huntington's iron constitution could have stood it.

During his later years he had two private cars, *Oneonta* and *Oneonta II*. The first car was fitted with a drawing room, library and sleeping quarters for himself and family. The second car was fitted with a kitchen, storeroom, refrigerators and servants' quarters. Fully stocked, Mr. Huntington could have lived on the cars for several months in comfort.

The walls of the Fifth Avenue house were hung with costly paintings by such well-known artists as Rosa Bonheur, Corot, Van Dyck, Gainsborough, Hals, Lely, Reynolds, Romney, Vermeer and many others.¹⁸ Mr. Huntington knew the value of a canvas as well as any dealer. He purchased only the subjects that appealed to him and his taste was intuitively correct and in his later years he was conceded to be among the best living judges of a painting.¹⁹

On one occasion when in Europe a dealer sent a number of canvasses to Mr. Huntington's rooms from which he was permitted to select any that pleased him at the price of \$2,000 each. He returned them all except one, unsigned, entitled "The Guitar Player." This proved to be a Vermeer, the best picture in the group and valued later at many thousands of dollars.²⁰



Huntington House at Throgg's Neck on Long Island Sound, Known as "The Homestead"



Pine Knott Camp, Showing Mr. and Mrs. Huntington with a Group of Friends

Mr. Huntington gave the Metropolitan Museum of Art one of Peale's portraits of Washington, and bequeathed his entire collection of canvasses to that institution to take effect after the death of his widow and his son, Archer M. Huntington. The latter, however, after his mother's death in 1924, gave the entire collection to the Metropolitan.

The Nob Hill house in San Francisco also housed a fine collection of paintings, among them several by Mr. Huntington's favorite modern artist, William Keith of San Francisco. The first painting of Keith that attracted his attention was entitled "Resignation," the head of an old woman in whose face was the endurance and patience of a lifetime. He later purchased several Keith paintings of scenes in the High Sierras. Mr. Huntington admired Keith for his genius and his industry. One day he said to Keith, "I would gladly exchange my wealth for the ability to paint as you do."²¹

Keith is said to have painted three portraits of Huntington and a few months before the latter's death, he made the well-known, extraordinary photograph that was used later in the portrait by Francis Lathrop, a description of which has been given as follows:

In the portrait of Collis Potter Huntington by Francis Lathrop one seems to see the man as he was in the flesh. His massive frame was that of a man born to command, and the indomitable spirit that inspired him is evident in the masterful poise of the head and the keen gray eye. But the artist—a friend to whom the making of this portrait was a labor of love—has also caught the more human side of his character, the side that all who came in contact with him knew, the strong personal magnetism, the kindly courtesy, the wisdom and unswerving probity that bound his friends to him with bands of steel.²²

The photograph by Keith from which the portrait was painted was described as follows by a writer and traveler, an adverse critic of Mr. Huntington:

There have been many pictures of Huntington but no others that seem to explain the man. No one has been more structurally opposed to his policies, no one more irreconcilably convinced that his economics were medieval and mistaken; but I conceive that there can be no doubt that his was the mightiest mind that ever laid hold of commerce in the United States; not the wisest, but the weightiest; not the best but the most dominant; a personality whose strength it would be hard to exaggerate. In any place, in any country, he would have been a great man; in some places (and with the mere accident of a different point of view) a much greater one. He had all the attributes of a king—far more than most kings. . . . Of all the pictures of the man, this is the only one I can read him in. . . . The negative unfortunately was not copyrighted and has been coolly appropriated by someone else and prints circulated without credit to the artist, a dishonesty worth while to mention in so extraordinary a portrait.²³

Mr. Huntington had a collection of forty-six miniature portraits of which thirty-three were done by well-known artists, Henry Bone, Doisteau, Robeant, Romney, and others; thirteen were unsigned. Among the subjects were H.R.H. the Prince Regent, 1816; Princess Sophia of England; Marie Antoinette, Lady Hamilton, Marie Teresa of Austria, and others.²⁴

The walls of Mr. Huntington's offices in the Mills Building, New York, were covered with interesting photographs and engravings of places and subjects associated with his enterprises. A favorite of Mr. Huntington was a small engraving representing an old man soliciting employment with the inscription "I Can Wait," in German. Mr. Huntington

had repeatedly said that nothing could beat him waiting but the Catholic Church. On the window behind him as he sat at his desk hung a large photograph of the Newport News Shipyard.

Mr. Huntington had an extensive library of choice books. He enjoyed reading especially, as he expressed it, "the literature of the ancients." He was fond of poetry and read all the great poets of England and America. His favorite was George Crabbe, "that uncompromising delineator of human nature," although he said he found it hard to read. He always kept a copy of Crabbe in his office. He was proud of his beautiful edition of Rollin's History, the edition of Burns for which he had paid more than a thousand dollars, and the translations of Homer and Virgil. His favorite room in the Fifth Avenue house was referred to by a close friend as "the library he loved so well."

Chapter LXVII

“THE ARISTOCRACY OF LABOR IS MY ARISTOCRACY”



EARLY IN LIFE Collis Potter Huntington recognized the power of money. As a young man he used the money he earned to make more money. As his fortune accumulated, his interests expanded into the development of large enterprises that would not only produce money, but give employment to thousands of persons and greatly enhance the progress of the country. At the time of his death he was director, an officer, or both, in an almost unbelievable number of corporations in addition to the railroad systems he had been instrumental in extending across the continent. It was said that the name of C. P. Huntington among the directorate of a corporation was an assurance of its stability.

Of the following corporations, Mr. Huntington was reported to have been both a director and the president at the time of his death:

- Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company
- Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway Company
- Guatemala Central Railroad Company
- Louisiana & Western Railroad Company
- Louisiana & Western Extension
- Oregon & California Railroad Company (Vice-President)
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company



Huntington Mausoleum on Chapel Hill in Westchester County, New York



*Memorial to Arabella Huntington at the Mausoleum,
Executed by Anna Hyatt Huntington*

Raquette Lake Railroad Company
Southern Bridge & Railway Company
Southern Pacific Company

The corporations of which he was a director only:

Detroit Gas Company
Fuente Coal Company (Mexico)
Galveston, Houston & Northern Railway Company
Gulf, Western & Pacific Railway Company
International Construction Company
Mexican International Railroad Company
Morgan's Louisiana & Texas Railroad & Steamship Company
New York, Texas & Mexican Railway Company
Newport News Light & Water Company
Northern Pacific Terminal Company of Oregon
Old Dominion Land Company
Old Dominion Steamship Company
Oregonian Railway Company
Portland & Yamhill Railroad Company
Southern Pacific Coast Railway Company
Union Colliery Company of British Columbia
Western Union Telegraph Company

Other corporations in which Mr. Huntington was interested, but was neither a director nor an officer, some of which he practically controlled by large investments, however:

Astoria & Columbia River Railroad Company
Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company
California Pacific Railroad Company
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company
Forest Park & Land Company
Manhattan Railroad Company
Market Street Railroad Company
Maysville & Big Sandy Railroad Company

Metropolitan Street Railway Company
Metropolitan Trust Company
Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company
Occidental & Oriental Steamship Company
Pacific Improvement Company¹

Mr. Huntington held stocks in the following companies which the appraisers of his estate marked as of no value:

Cincinnati & Southeastern Railroad Company, \$969,000
Financial Improvement Company, \$150,000
Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company, \$1,363,575
Southern Development Company, \$1,000,000
Western Development Company²

At the time of Mr. Huntington's death, the Southern Pacific was said to be the greatest transportation system in the world. It operated a continuous line from Portland, Oregon, to New Orleans, Louisiana; and an important division of the main line from San Francisco to Ogden (the old Central Pacific). The company had also bought, leased or absorbed more than a dozen other railroads of less importance, so that in 1900, it owned or controlled more than 9,000 miles of continuous track in eight different states and territories with an extension into Mexico of over eight hundred miles.

In 1901, when Harriman acquired control, the company's gross earnings were \$77,729,000, but its operating expenses were large; it had a funded debt of nearly \$350,000,000, and it had never paid a dividend.³

Mr. Huntington had interests in two railroads in Africa. He had put \$75,000 in the British East Africa Company to build a road from East Africa to the interior as far as Victoria Nyanza; and \$50,000 in a railroad along the Congo River

built by the Belgians from Matadi to Stanleyville around the rapids of the Congo. In making his subscription to these railroads, Mr. Huntington said that if the investments were wholly lost as he expected, he would find his compensation in aiding the opening up of the country and thereby promoting civilization.⁴

A summary of the steamship lines with which Mr. Huntington had been connected makes an impressive list. Some of these he had been instrumental in organizing; in others he had invested more or less heavily, and in most of them he was an officer or a director:

- California Steam Navigation Company
- Chesapeake & Ohio Steamship Company
- Cincinnati, Big Sandy & Pomeroy Packet Company
- Colorado Navigation Company
- Duke Steamship Line (Newport News to Liverpool)
- Morgan Steamship Line
- Occidental & Oriental Steamship Company
- Old Dominion Steamship Company
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company
- San Francisco-Oakland Ferry Company
- United States & Brazil Steamship Company

In the various companies organized by the four associates for the construction of their various railroad lines, Mr. Huntington invested largely. When they found that the work of constructing the Central Pacific Railroad proceeded more smoothly and more rapidly when done by the Contract & Finance Company than by construction companies under contract, it was decided to continue the plan for the construction of their other railroad lines. Therefore, when the Contract & Finance Company was dissolved in 1874, after the

Central Pacific had been entirely completed according to Government specifications, the Western Development Company was incorporated February 2, 1875, to continue the work. In addition to the construction of the Southern Pacific and other railroads and general repairs to equipment, this company undertook the building of bridges and the private residences for Hopkins, Crocker, and Stanford. After the death of Hopkins and Colton in 1878, the company was dissolved and the work continued under a new name.⁵

The Pacific Improvement Company was incorporated November 4, 1878, and became a strong financial agency of Mr. Huntington. It constructed extensions of the Southern Pacific Railroad from Mohave to Needles and from Yuma through Arizona and New Mexico; also the lines from San Francisco to Oregon, now a part of the Southern Pacific system.

In 1890, the Pacific Improvement Company gave the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company a contract for building four freight steamers for the Morgan Steamship Line. In 1893, the offices of this company were located at 33 Broad Street, New York, under the management of General Thomas H. Hubbard.

After the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad Mr. Huntington is said to have sold his shares in the company to the Hopkins estate,⁶ yet at the time of his death, stocks of this company to the value of \$1,250,000 were listed among his assets, which Mrs. Huntington is reported to have sold at a profit. In April 1910, the Pacific Improvement Company sued the estate of Collis P. Huntington for \$500,000 of the stock of the Maricopa & Phoenix Railroad, a Southern Pacific branch line in Arizona. When the interests of the



Chairs Grouped Together When the Fifth Avenue House Was Dismantled



Fifth Avenue House in Process of Demolition

Pacific Improvement Company were separated from the Southern Pacific Company before Mr. Huntington's death, he insisted that the stock of the branch line in question belonged to the Southern Pacific Company, that the Pacific Improvement Company had held it only as a trustee, and he turned the stock over to the railroad company under the protests of the other members of the construction company. Since the Southern Pacific held the stock, the suit was brought in an effort to force the Huntington heirs to pay back its value to the Pacific Improvement Company.⁷ The company was in operation as late as the year 1928, according to Mr. Orville C. Sanborn, who defended the company in a lawsuit during that year.

The Southern Development Company was organized in 1883 to continue construction of the Southern Pacific Line eastward from New Mexico.⁸ It may be noticed that among the list of stocks owned by Mr. Huntington at the time of his death appraised as of no value, were those of the Western Development Company for \$1,250,000, and the Southern Development Company for \$1,000,000.

These construction companies, although incorporated under the laws of the State of California, were sources of severe criticism of the four associates. They were charged with using far more of the stocks and bonds of the railroads to pay the construction companies than was necessary, thereby defrauding the other stockholders of dividends which were rightfully theirs.

The Contracting & Building Company was organized in 1886 under the laws of Kentucky to build and equip the Maysville & Big Sandy Railroad from Ashland to Covington, and the bridge across the Ohio River, both of which became

an important division of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company. This construction company operated that part of the road from July 1, 1888, to January 1, 1889, under the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company, when it was taken over by the reorganized Chesapeake & Ohio.⁹

Among the enterprises which Mr. Huntington had in mind at the time of his death was a new steel plant to be built in connection with his shipyard at Newport News; and a plan to extend the Mexican International Railroad across the Great Divide of the Sierra Madre Mountains, and establish railroad communication between the Pacific and the interior of the country. To this project he had given much attention and for several years he had had engineers studying the problem of railroad construction over these mountains. During his last day at the office he had examined the report just then received from the engineers giving details of their surveys for the extension of the line to the Pacific. Mr. Huntington had expressed satisfaction at the results and highly commended the engineers.¹⁰

At the age when most men are out of business, he was daily at his desk performing his share of the work that devolves upon an employer of 100,000 or more men. To him work was more than bodily or mental activity by which to earn one's daily bread or to accumulate wealth; work brought independence of the spirit, security, a feeling of satisfaction and contentment earned in no other way. He regarded his early poverty as a blessing that enabled him "to take the work that lay nearest him, doing it better than it had ever been done before, looking forward to something better."

He did not approve the idea that every boy be given a higher education. Said he:

. . . In many cases valuable time is spent in cramming the mind with a knowledge that is not likely to help a young man in work that he is best fitted for. Many young men with college educations are standing about waiting for something else, because the work that lies nearest them is not to their liking.¹¹

Labor unions did not win his approval. He claimed that they were more autocratic than any other monopoly ever formed; that the walking delegate had developed into the master instead of the servant of the people, and "his mission appeared to be to stop the wheels of industry rather than to set more to rolling." He had a genuine and unaffected interest in the working man, and he not only knew what constituted "a square deal," but he had the desire to carry it out. As a result there was never a strike among the thousands of men in his employ. "Men want for their incitement," he said, "the encouragement, not so much of better wages, as of faith and trust and confidence that promotion and better pay imply."

Mr. Huntington endeavored to interest his men, particularly the married men, in owning homes of their own. Occasionally he would purchase a house himself, pay the taxes and insurance and permit the employee to return a part of his salary every month until the house was paid for. Sometimes a man would complain that he could not live upon the difference in his wages, but Mr. Huntington would be inexorable and the man would find that he could conform to the requirements.

He firmly believed in the dignity of labor, and that all work however low in the scale was honorable if done honestly. When Edwin Markham's poem, "The Man with the Hoe," was published in 1898, Mr. Huntington's resentment was so

great that on July 20, 1898, under the pseudonym of "Responsibility" he wrote a letter to the *New York Sun* and offered a prize of \$700 to the writer of a poem of equal merit extolling the dignity of manual labor in contrast to Markham's poem. The author of this letter was not revealed to the public until after Mr. Huntington's death. In the letter he wrote:

. . . The poem does wrong to a most respectable and able-bodied multitude of citizens everyone of whom ought to resent the attempt to throw "the emptiness of ages in his face," and who deserves better than to be called "brother to the ox." What about the man without the hoe? . . . Those who have been taught that the common labor of work in the trades or in the fields is beneath them? These are the real brothers of the ox . . . who have lost that true independence of soul that comes to him who dares to labor with his hands, who wields the hoe and is the master of his destiny.¹²



*Princess Clara Huntington von Hatzveldt, Adopted Daughter
of Collis Potter Huntington*



Prince Francis von Hatzveldt de Wildenberg of Germany

Chapter LXVIII

‘‘CHARITY VAUNTETH NOT ITSELF’’



MR. HUNTINGTON'S attitude toward charity is best told in the words of a friend of long standing:

Indiscriminate charity he strongly condemned; rarely was his name seen in connection with public subscriptions or loudly heralded charities. He had little faith in that sort of thing, but few men were more charitable than he. His good deeds were done in his own way and always on the principle that it was better to help one to help himself than to give alms. . . . Hundreds of prosperous men owe their prosperity to the aid and encouragement given them by Mr. Huntington.¹

This characteristic of Mr. Huntington is well illustrated by the following incident: When J. Edward Simmons became the head of the Fourth National Bank of New York, one of his first callers was Collis P. Huntington. The visit was not caused by affairs of his own, but out of sympathy for Mr. Simmons' predecessor, O. D. Baldwin, whose retirement had been called for because of a technicality, but whose record as an individual had been entirely clean. Said Mr. Huntington:

I have known Baldwin a good while, and I like him more than enough just to be talking about it. So Mr. Simmons I want you to tell me something I don't know how else to find out; not whether he is capable, so I can give him a job, for I don't give jobs to friends;

but this—how is Baldwin fixed? I mean has this trouble coming on him so suddenly caught him with loans and contracts and personal accounts that he cannot handle right off? You probably know, or you can learn, and I want the facts. Mind you, this is between ourselves. And it's plain business—no charity. I hate charity.

Some years later during reminiscences, Simmons was asked what had happened, and he answered: "Well, I'll say this, there are men in Wall Street whose hearts are bigger than most men's bodies."²

In the early 1880's when the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway was being extended down the Peninsula, Mr. Huntington became interested in establishing an industrial department in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, a school for Negroes and Indians at Hampton, Virginia. He told the Principal, General Armstrong, that the boys would be better men for having some work of that kind to do. At the expenditure of over \$31,000, the aggregate of several gifts, the Huntington Industrial Works (so named by the trustees) consisting of an 80-horsepower engine for a sawmill and other machinery were established at the mouth of Hampton Creek. In this harbor from 200,000 to 400,000 feet of Southern pine logs were safely moored, of which 10,000 were hauled out each day and sawed into framing and other building material of various kinds. General Armstrong declared that these Works were their most satisfactory and successful department because they taught things of the highest value and paid their own way besides.

Mr. Huntington served as a Trustee of the Institute for a number of years before his death. It was said that he left the Institute a legacy of \$100,000. The Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, another school for Negroes under Booker T. Wash-

ington was the beneficiary of \$50,000 from Mrs. Huntington in 1899.

In the town of Harwinton, Connecticut, where he was born, Mr. Huntington erected a beautiful chapel in memory of his mother. In his remarks at the presentation of the deed to the citizens on October 22, 1887, he said that he was glad that he had been born there, for that was the reason he thought, for such success in life that he had been able to achieve:

It was long years ago when I said to myself that what ought to be done could be done, and that success in life only meant honesty of purpose and intelligent economy. . . . Now as to this little chapel, I have built it because I wanted to build it for you who were children with me, and I also wanted to build it in memory of my mother who was one of the best women that ever lived; and I ask you to care for it, because I think it will do you and your children good; and I ask you to care for it because it is in memory of my mother.³

On the evening of October 7, 1891, Mr. Huntington presented the town of Westchester, New York, with a new library building he had purchased for them, stocked with over 5,000 volumes of literature, biography, history, fiction, poetry, science, travel, and reference works. In the course of his speech Mr. Huntington said:

I have prepared this building for all who may desire to enjoy its advantages, but it will no doubt be used mostly by the young who have neither libraries nor reading rooms. I shall therefore direct my remarks mainly to the young people. . . . Let me urge the careful use of your time. To most of you your time is your capital. That is a wise old maxim, "Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves." It is equally wise to say, "Take care of the minutes and the days will take care of themselves." In the improvement of your time, care should be taken to lay up something

for the seasons that come and bring no harvest, for such seasons come to all. Learn to live on less than you earn and thus always have a balance in the bank. This will add much to your happiness and may keep you from temptation. . . . When I was a barefooted boy living among the hills of Connecticut, my mother said to me: "My son, always do the right as you understand the right," and she said it in such a tone that the sound of her words has followed me through all the years of a long and busy life. And allow me to say to you, the young men and women who are here, "Do the right as each of you understands the right."⁴

After the city of Newport News was founded, Mr. Huntington contributed frequently to its maintenance and development, usually through the Old Dominion Land Company of which he owned most of the stock. A number of lots were given on which to locate schools, churches, the courthouse and other buildings. He responded liberally to emergencies as in the blizzard of February, 1899. He aided in the establishment of city lights, water and sewer systems. The Shipyard as a source of employment for thousands of men was maintained by Mr. Huntington until his death without one dollar of profit. In connection therewith he maintained a free graded school for the benefit of the children of his employees.

When Mr. Huntington's estate was being settled, there were found among his effects cancelled checks to the amount of over \$2,000,000. The report stated: "These were personal loans, some to friends, some to mere acquaintances, and some to strangers without security." This report was a great surprise to many persons, especially to the editors of some San Francisco newspapers, one of whom commented: "We none of us know one another. Mr. Huntington seems to have been a good fellow, a soft thing to a great many people after all."⁵



*Arabella Duval Huntington,
Second Wife of Collis Potter Huntington*



*Mrs. Catherine J. Yarrington,
Mother of Mrs. Collis Potter Huntington*

Much of the fortune accumulated by Mr. Huntington was used by his heirs for the welfare of the public. There have been mentioned the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, the Huntington Hospital at Pasadena, the Huntington Park for children in San Francisco, and the Collis Potter Huntington Memorial Collection in the Palace of the Legion of Honor at San Francisco.

The Huntington Library at the Hampton Institute, a memorial to Mr. Huntington, was dedicated on April 28, 1903, the gift of his widow and son. The memorial address was delivered by Booker T. Washington, President of Tuskegee Institute, who said in part:

His loved ones have the rare privilege and satisfaction of knowing that in turning some of the results of his heroic struggle into useful occupations, into books, into poetry and religion, into higher, beautiful and useful living, they are doing what he would have done, and there could be no more fitting memorial.

A special dedication hymn was written for the occasion by Helen W. Ludlow of which the following is the last stanza:

We rear a monument to one
Whose name is carved in service done;
Who gave the might of brain and hand
To join the seas and build our land.
All tribes of earth his interest shared,
He loved us, for our cause he cared;
God grant that here his lasting meed
Be truer life and nobler deed.⁶

The son, Archer Milton Huntington, has been most generous in the use of his inheritance for the benefit of the people. In 1904, the Hispanic Society of America was founded, "the chief object of which, among others, was the presentation of

the culture of the Hispanic peoples." To this society, Mr. Huntington presented his own collection upon which has been built the largest and most valuable assemblage of Hispanic materials in the Western Hemisphere. To house these materials, a building having a frontage of one hundred feet was erected at Broadway and 155th Street in New York, and dedicated to the memory of Collis Potter Huntington. An annex contains a reference library relating to Hispanic countries and peoples.

The Society has established an educational system without parallel in any other institution. Young women are encouraged to become students in the museum if they so desire and if they manifest serious intent and ability for sustained work. The student spends some time studying the various materials until she has selected a subject in which she feels the greatest interest. She studies the Spanish or Portuguese language, probably both, and at the same time endeavors to improve her command of English. The student then devotes her time to serious and most painstaking research upon the subject she has chosen, drawing upon the resources of the museum and library.

Her investigation may take her abroad to Spain for further study and research and into wider fields of knowledge than gained by the usual college course. After the student has mastered the subject in all details, she will write a dissertation, illustrated by photographs, which will be published by the trustees of the society.

Books have in this way been written and published upon the subjects of Hispanic paintings, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, metalwork, manuscripts, and many others. Some of the writings have brought the authors high commendation from



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

BRONZE BUST OF COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON

Executed by Anna Hyatt Huntington



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

*Anna Hyatt Huntington, Celebrated Sculptor,
Wife of Archer Milton Huntington*

scholars, recognition as authorities on the subject, and sometimes membership in learned societies.

The grounds of the Hispanic buildings have been embellished by works of Anna Hyatt Huntington, sculptor, an artist of international renown, and wife of the founder. Dominating the grounds is an heroic statue of El Cid Campeador, the legendary hero of Spain; two life-like lions guard the doorway; the two flagstaffs have circular bases with numerous graceful figures; several groups of animals have places on the grounds; and there are two heroic scale bas-reliefs, the Don Quixote and the Boabdil.

In the same rectangle at 155th Street are located other museums and their collections founded and maintained in part by Mr. Huntington: The American Numismatic Society, The American Geographical Society, The Heye Foundation (museum of the American Indian) having two buildings, The Academy of Arts and Letters with two buildings, and the Spanish Catholic chapel, Our Lady of Esperanza, which faces on 156th Street.

Mr. Huntington, also, gave to the National Academy of Design his former home at Fifth Avenue and 89th Street, New York.

Another outstanding museum founded by Mr. Huntington is that of Brookgreen Gardens in South Carolina with its remarkable collection of sculpture by American artists numbering about three hundred items. Its origin and purpose is told by Mr. Huntington in a foreword to one of the publications:

Brookgreen Gardens is a quiet joining of hands between science and art. The original plan involved a tract of land from the Waccamaw River to the sea in Georgetown County, South Carolina, for

the preservation of the fauna and flora of the southeast. At first the Garden was intended to contain the sculpture of Anna Hyatt Huntington. This has gradually found extension in an outline collection representative of the history of American sculpture from the nineteenth century, which finds natural setting out of doors. Its object is the preservation of the natural life of a given district as a museum, and as it is a garden, and gardens have from early times been rightly embellished by the art of the sculptor, that principle has found expression in American creative art.⁷

To the Charleston Museum in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1931-1932, Mr. Huntington presented an art collection in memory of his mother, Mrs. Arabella Duval Huntington.

The Mariners' Museum in Virginia was founded by Mr. Huntington in 1930. It is located about six miles from the shipyard established by his father at Newport News, Virginia. "It is devoted to the culture of the sea and its tributaries, its conquest by man, and its influence on civilization." The buildings which house the finest collection of small boats, ship models, figureheads, and other nautical relics in the country, are situated within a natural woodland park and game sanctuary. A freshwater lake of 165 acres, created by building a dam across the mouth of Waters' Creek, extends through the center of the park. It was named Lake Maury in honor of the celebrated oceanographer, Matthew Fontainé Maury.

In connection with the museum is a nautical reference library of about 35,000 volumes, several thousand ship papers and plans of vessels, thousands of maps and charts, and a large collection of photographs. The Print Department has a fine collection of original lithographs, prints and oils, numbering several thousand items pertaining to the sea.



*"THE GUITAR PLAYER," by Vermeer
A Selection of Collis P. Huntington*



"THE MISSIONARY'S STORY," by Vibert—A Favorite of Collis P. Huntington

In the park on a knoll fronting the James River, stands a memorial to Collis Potter Huntington. It is a symbolic group of statuary by Anna Hyatt Huntington, "Youth taming the Wild," a young man subduing a horse. The base of the monument bears the inscription: "Collis Potter Huntington. 1821-1900. Founder of the Shipyard. Through His Undertaking This Museum and Park Became a Possibility and Reality." At the foot of the base stand four figures representing History, Science, Learning, and Industry. A recent addition to the building is the Collis Potter Huntington Memorial Room in which are to be preserved collections of his writings, letters to him and about his work, and relics of various kinds with which he was associated.

About a mile from the Mariners' Museum, in a wing of the James River Country Club, is a Golf Museum founded in 1932 by Mr. Huntington for study and research in the history of golf, and for the collection and preservation of those things relating to the history and antiquity of the game. The collection includes a fine group of early clubs and balls, and a library of several hundred volumes on the subject. Relics from Scotland and other European countries have been procured and suitably arranged.

In 1932, Mr. and Mrs. Huntington gave three hundred acres of forest land and lakes lying in the Adirondacks, in which Pine Knott Lodge was located, to the University of the State of New York. They gave also a sum for the establishment of the Archer and Anna Huntington Wild Life Forest Station by the New York State College at Syracuse University. This is the first in a chain of refuges, the second is the park and lake at the Mariners' Museum, and the third at Brookgreen Gardens.

Replicas of Mrs. Huntington's statuary are in the permanent collections of nearly two hundred institutions—art galleries, universities, libraries, museums—in this country, in Canada, in Europe and countries of South America. Replicas of her superb Joan of Arc have been placed at Riverside Drive, New York; Gloucester, Massachusetts; the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; The Battlefields at Quebec; and at Blois, France. In addition to the Hispanic Society, the magnificent Cid is found at the Palace of the Legion of Honor, at San Diego, California, at Seville, Spain, and at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Chapter LXIX

“AND FEATS THAT AGES
SHALL NAME ANEW”



HISTORY HAS ASSIGNED to Collis Potter Huntington a prominent place in America's company of great men. He ranks with great generals, yet he never led an army to victory. He is classed with great scientists, yet he never made a scientific discovery. He is counted with great inventors, yet he never invented a labor-saving machine. His name in the annals of the great is a symbol for great industrial achievements of the age in which he lived and served, achievements that left the country enormously and irretrievably in his debt. Those great public undertakings were accomplished often under Herculean difficulties by reason of his broad vision, unflinching courage and indefatigable energy.

Many illustrious men of that period in history had started life in poverty and with limited opportunities yet had risen to pinnacles of success, even to the Presidency of the United States; but, so far as the records show, it was left to Collis Potter Huntington to regard early poverty as an advantage, a factor in success. By extraordinary strength of intellect he overcame the defects of poverty and lack of education and became a practical self-taught genius with “a head to devise and a hand to execute” enterprises of great magnitude. His innate good taste, sound judgment and remarkable memory enabled him to cultivate an appreciation of good literature

and the fine arts. On one occasion someone mentioned Longfellow's "Hiawatha" in his presence, whereupon he recited the entire poem from memory.

His personal greatness was never more manifest than by the calm and serene dignity with which he weathered the storm of ridicule and derision of his enemies in their efforts to break him down. He displayed no humiliation at their onslaughts, and no jubilation when they failed in their objectives. "The final proof of greatness lies in being able to endure contumely without resentment," said Elbert Hubbard. At the time of the most severe attacks, Mr. Huntington was quietly spending millions of dollars to keep his shipyard in operation because he believed so firmly in its great future.

"Every man's work is always a portrait of the man himself," said Samuel Butler. When to the remarkable picture of Collis Potter Huntington thus presented are added the characteristics of the man as revealed by his writings—letters, newspaper articles, addresses—over a long period of time, the true image of the man stands forth. Repeatedly in his writings we come across one of the guiding principles of his career, resolved upon at an early age: Success in life means only honesty of purpose and intelligent economy.

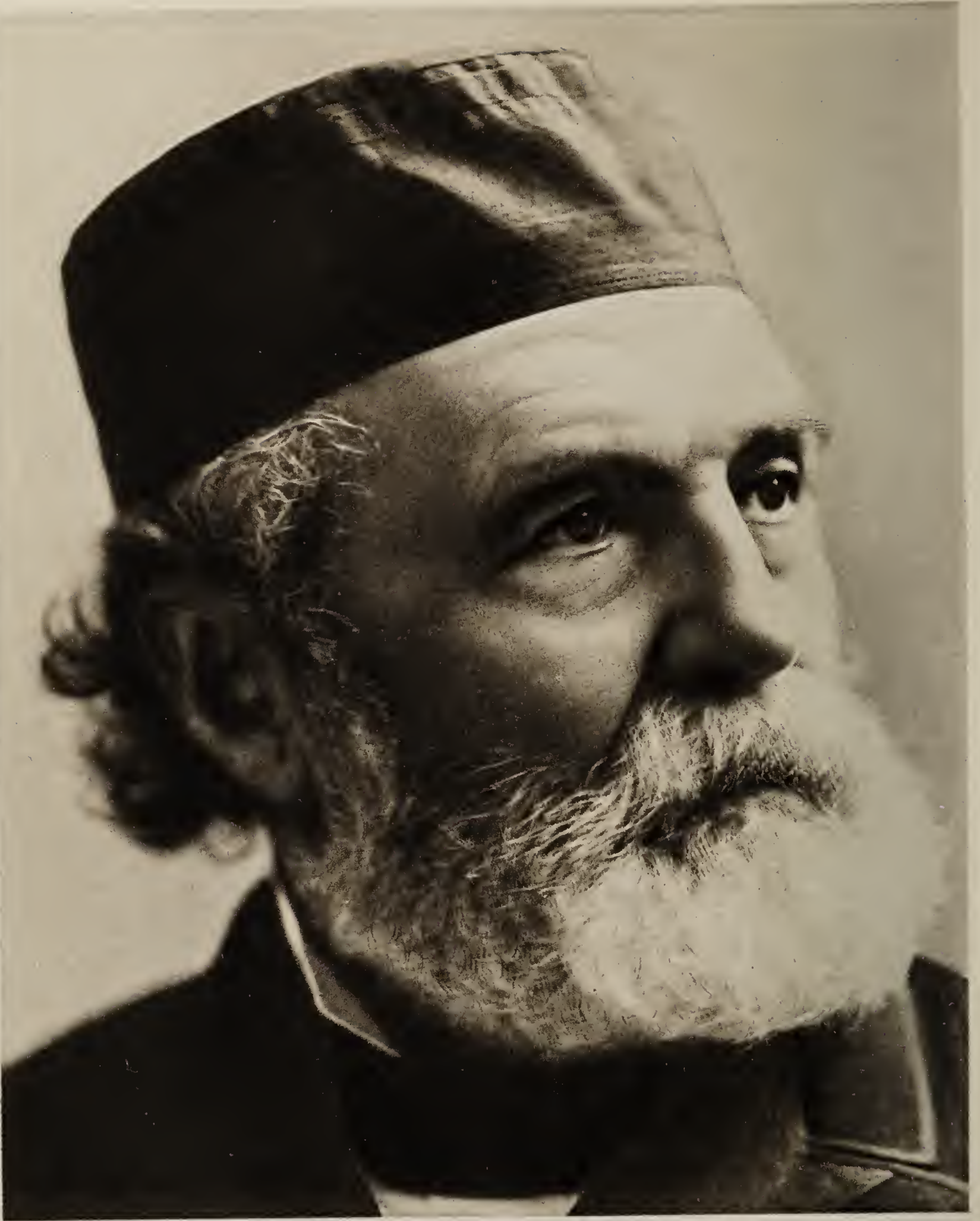
Collis Potter Huntington would have been a great man anywhere and under any circumstances; he would have mastered any situation in which he found himself. The elements of his greatness did not depend upon a particular environment for development. His rise to fame was no sudden and spectacular event; his entire career was a constant, inexorable progress to high places from small beginnings.

Death comes to all,
But great achievements raise a monument
That shall endure . . .



COURTESY OF THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

*"CONQUERING THE WILD," Monument to Collis Potter Huntington
Executed by Anna Hyatt Huntington*



Collis Potter Huntington

APPENDICES



APPENDIX I



*“’Twas not his stature made him great
But greatness of his name.”*

WHILE THERE ARE no available records that Collis Potter Huntington's success in life and the great contributions he made to his country ever brought him an honorary degree from a scholastic institution, as has been the case of a few self-made men, yet he is not without honor in his own country. Monuments have been erected to do him honor, memorials presented to institutions, and his name given to many places and corporations. A partial list follows:

The Huntington Statue of heroic size executed in bronze by Gutzon Borglum, at Huntington, West Virginia.

The Huntington Monument erected at the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company.

The Huntington Monument, “Taming the Wild,” executed by Anna Hyatt Huntington, at the Mariners' Museum, Newport News.

The City of Huntington, West Virginia, founded by Mr. Huntington in 1871.

The City of Huntington, Mississippi, on a branch line of the Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railroad.

Huntington Hospital, Pasadena, California.

Huntington Free Library and Reading Room, Westchester, New York.

Huntington Memorial Library at the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

Huntington Park, Newport News, Virginia.

Huntington Park for Children, San Francisco.

Huntington Kindergarten for young children of Newport News Shipyard employees.

Huntington Hall, girls' dormitory at Tuskegee Institute.

Huntington Mountain in the Sierras, California, 12,393 feet in height. One of four mountains named for the four builders of the Central Pacific Railroad.

Huntington High School for Negroes at Newport News.

Huntington Tugboat of the Newport News Shipyard.

Huntington Avenue at Newport News, Virginia.

Huntington Rifles, a military company composed of young men of Newport News and Hampton, active in the Spanish-American War, 1898, and later.

Huntington Garden Club, Warwick, Virginia.

Huntington Falls in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

The Collis Potter Huntington Memorial Collection in the San Francisco Palace of the Legion of Honor.

The Collis Potter Huntington Memorial Room at the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

The Collis Potter Huntington Fund for Cancer Research.

The C. P. Huntington Locomotive, No. 1, of the Southern Pacific, and No. 3, of the Central Pacific.

The Museum of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, dedicated to the memory of Collis Potter Huntington.

The English translation of "The Poem of the Cid," by Archer M. Huntington, volume two, dedicated to Collis P. Huntington, "with love and respect," 1901.

Although neither the city of Newport News nor its Shipyard bear the name "Huntington," both were founded by Collis P. Huntington, and are truly monuments to his memory.

In the volume, "Huntington through Seventy-five Years," by George S. Wallace, we find the following uses of the word "Huntington":

Huntington Bank and Trust Company

Huntington Belt Line

Huntington Cement Block Company

Huntington Central High School

Huntington-Charleston Railway Company

Huntington Chesapeake Bridge Company

Huntington Creamery Company

Huntington Development and Gas Company

Huntington Dispatch

Huntington Dry Docks

Huntington Dry Goods Company

Huntington East High School

Huntington Electric Light & Street Railway Company

Huntington Federal Savings and Loan Association

Huntington Hardware Company

Huntington *Herald*

Huntington Hotel

Huntington Housing Authority

Huntington & Kenova Land Company

Huntington Land Company

Huntington Lumber & Supply Company

Huntington Memorial Church

Huntington Municipal Building

Huntington Mutual Telephone Company

Huntington National Bank

Huntington Publishing Company

Huntington Rail Company

Huntington Red Brick Company

Huntington Sash Door and Trim Company
Huntington Steel Products
Huntington School Board
Huntington Tin & Planished Plate Company
Huntington Trust and Savings Bank
Huntington Union Mission
Huntington Water Corporation
Huntington Wharf
Huntington Wholesale Furniture Company

APPENDIX II



“So great a cloud of witnesses”

During the year 1901, a year after Mr. Huntington's death, Mrs. Huntington sent to some of his friends, associates and employees, copies of the Keith photograph of Mr. Huntington, appropriately framed. The response to this act of friendship and courtesy on the part of Mrs. Huntington was heart-warming. Some of the employees who received the portrait had grown old in Mr. Huntington's service; associates of his various railroad companies were represented; congressmen and senators who had listened to the bitter debate on the refunding bill, some of them taking part, were recipients of the picture. It seems fitting, therefore, that this “Life” should contain at least excerpts from a part of this testimony.

San Francisco, Aug. 31, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington:—

Nothing within your gift can be of greater value to me, than the portrait of your deceased husband. During a forty years' acquaintance with him, my esteem increased as the years went by, and it is hard to say which was the stronger sentiment with me, esteem for him as a friend, or admiration for his immense ability. May happiness come to you and yours, is the wish of

Yours sincerely,

E. B. RYAN.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 5, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington:

I received the fine picture of Mr. Huntington, and beg to thank you. . . . Mrs. Fish and myself value it . . . as a souvenir of one whose genius and ability we admired, and whose friendship we valued very highly. We remember and miss the courtesies and favors extended to us in various ways for so many years. . . .

Very sincerely,
G. H. FISH.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept., 17, 1901

My Dear Mrs. Huntington—

I am indebted to you for your thoughtful kindness in sending me the very excellent picture of your husband. We were friends for many years, and I, in common with those who were privileged to really know him, learned to appreciate his grand ability and extraordinary worth, not only as a man, but as the leading commonwealth builder. History and the effect of his life labors will place him in the very front rank of great Americans.

Sincerely yours,
A. HAYWARD

San Francisco, Aug. 30, 1901

Dear Madam

I am in receipt of a portrait of our Great President, for which I thank you. . . . In life he led us, and we are ready to follow him without fear through the shadows.

Respectfully,
JOHN D. ISAACS

My dear Mrs. Huntington—

. . . The photograph is so much like Mr. Huntington, the features and expression so perfect, that we were much moved on receiving it, especially at this time of the year made eventful by your annual visit. Mr. Huntington's death has made a void in our lives that can never be filled. . . . You must know of the unbounded sympathy of many hearts on the Pacific Coast. . . . Were Mr. Kruttschnitt with me, he would join me in thanks for your kind remembrance. Believe me always

Yours devotedly,

E. MINNA KRUTTSCHNITT.

May the eighth.

San Francisco, Sept. 5th, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

. . . I have always admired Mr. Huntington for his superior qualities and great ability; his picture will be treasured by me, as I have always considered my acquaintance with him as one of the most pleasant experiences of my life. . . .

Very sincerely yours,

RICHARD DERBY.

The Pacific-Union Club, San Francisco,

Sept. 9, 1901.

Dear Mrs. Huntington,

Permit me to acknowledge your gracious gift of Mr. Huntington's picture. . . . He was personally and officially kind to me, and his death affected me with a sense of personal loss which the intervening days do not lessen. . . .

Respectfully yours,

WM. SPROULE.

Los Angeles, Sept. 4, '01

Mrs. Collis P. Huntington,

Dear Madam,

Permit me to express my heartfelt thanks for sending me the excellent photograph of Mr. Huntington. It is not only a faithful likeness, but brings out in a remarkable manner the strength of his character that made him one of the strongest men of the century. His portrait, like his life, is an inspiration for earnest, honest effort.

Yours truly,
G. W. LUCE.

Los Angeles, Cal., Sept. 10, 1901

... My dear Madam:

... While his memory will always be dear to those of us who have known him so well, and labored with him so long in the upbuilding of the magnificent property which should and will forever stand as a fitting monument to his great genius and untiring energy, at the same time such a souvenir cannot but be most highly prized . . . because he did me the especial honor of admission to a share in his friendship, and it is to that personal side of his character which he did not show to the world at large that I shall always most cherish. . .

Very respectfully,
J. A. MUIR

Siskiyou County Miners' Association,
Fort Jones, Cal., Oct. 9, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

... I can sincerely assure you that I very greatly appreciate your thoughtful kindness, it has to some extent appeased the grief I have experienced at the loss of so noble and valued friend, not only a personal friend, but as a man having the keenest sympathy with all humanity. . . .

I am sincerely,
ANDREW G. MYERS.

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

I was more gratified than I can tell you, to receive yesterday the beautiful photograph of Mr. Huntington, so like him, & I was gratified that you sent it to me. I miss Mr. Huntington & I miss you too.

Your broken hearted friend,

LUCY P. WICKHAM

Hickory Hill, Va.

August 28, 1901.

Hickory Hill, 1st Sept., 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

I have just returned home and write to let you know that the picture of Mr. Huntington is safely received, and I thank you for remembering my mother & myself. She has written to you, and for myself I beg to be permitted to say that I shall value the one you sent me, not only for the likeness, but also because it will constantly recall to my memory one who was the best friend my dear Father ever had, and one who was always good and kind to me. All of us here at Hickory Hill are, and always will be, grateful to the very memory of Mr. Huntington and those he loved.

Very Faithfully Yours,

H. T. WICKHAM.

Newport News, Virginia

No date.

My Dear Madam

. . . To my mind, in the truest sense of the word, he was the greatest American, because I believe he bettered the condition of a greater number of the common people than any other American. With great respect, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely,

W. A. POST

28 Monroe Place, Brooklyn

April 30, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

Nothing but my absence from the city at that most wonderful place Hampton and its true child Tuskegee and my consequent ignorance of your so kind redemption of your promise in sending me the photograph of Mr. Huntington would have been reason for my delaying in sending to you my hearty thanks for your so kind association of me in your mind with your great husband and the extraordinary man whom I am proud to recall as my friend. . . .

I am, Sincerely yours,

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY

Ophir Farm, Purchase, Westchester Co., N. Y.

Wednesday, 9 October, 1901

Dear Mrs. Huntington:

It was a great pleasure to find the other day at our town house, the admirable portrait of Mr. Huntington you were good enough to send me. I had known him for about a quarter of a century, & the better I came to understand him & his work, the more highly I learned to appreciate both. Permit me to express my warm thanks for the portrait, as well as for the kindly thought that prompted you to send it. . . .

Very truly yours,

WHITELAW REID

My Dear Mrs. Huntington

4th May, 1901

I wish to express my profound sense of obligation that you have favored me with a copy of the most excellent photograph of Mr. Huntington. I shall prize it highly as a reminder of my privilege of knowing and enjoying my friendship with him. There was a singular sense of Comradeship in my brief association with Mr. Huntington. Life is narrower because of his absence, and memory is richer for what he was to me.

Very sincerely,

ROBERT C. OGDEN

The Waldorf-Astoria, New York

April 24, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington

I appreciate more than I can express your kindness in sending me the very fine picture of Mr. Huntington. It brings out his expression of strength and firmness, and at the same time his gentle, generous characteristics. I will keep it where I can always see the face of this grand and great man. That you deemed me worthy to possess the gift adds very much to its value to me. . . .

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH WHEELER. (Brig. Gen. U.S.A.)

My dear Mrs. Huntington

Princeton, April 26, 1901

I received this morning a very fine and truthful likeness of your late husband; and I desire to thank you for it most sincerely. It brings to mind the personal friendship of Mr. Huntington, and the interest with which I have listened to his recital of incidents connected with his successful and useful career.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND

1229 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Sept. 26, 1901

Dear Madam,

Let me thank you sincerely for the likeness of Mr. Huntington you sent me, just received and hung in my library. It is gratifying to have so good a likeness of the best friend of my business life, and of the greatest business man I have known. Again I thank you.

Sincerely yours,

L. E. PAYSON.

House of Representatives, U. S., Danville, Ill.

Aug. 28, 1901

Dear Madam

. . . It was not my good fortune to be acquainted with Mr. Huntington until in the later years of his life. I recollect my acquaintance with great pleasure. . . .

Under his leadership the desert was overcome & the mountains subdued; while commonwealths, cities, farms & gardens sprang into existence as if by magic.

The aggregate of his fortune was but a small commission for his work & genius; while through it all, in it all, and all the while, he gloried in his Americanism & his country's progress. The century just closed was prolific in great captains of industry & leaders in the development of our material resources; in my judgment history will rightfully give him the first place among them all. . . .

Very truly,

J. G. CANNON

Buffalo, Aug. 29, 1901

My Dear Mrs. Huntington

. . . The picture is true to life & the fact that the picture was entirely unexpected makes me appreciate it all the more. It has been my privilege to say that Mr. Huntington was the best friend I ever had, & the great loss I experienced is all the more keenly felt just at this time, the consolidation of the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific Railroads leaving me out of employment with the close of the current month.

Very respectfully yours,

GEO. W. SAFFORD

Hampton Normal & Agricultural Institute,
Hampton, Va., May 1, 1901

Dear Mrs. Huntington

Please accept my thanks for the admirable picture of Mr. Huntington which I shall prize most highly as I shall always prize the opportunity of having known so great a man.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. FRISSELL.

Tuskegee Normal & Industrial Institute,
Tuskegee, Ala., July 20, 1901

Dear Mrs. Huntington:—

. . . It is such a satisfaction to have so good a picture of one who was one of the best friends my race ever had, and one who believed thoroughly in the work of this institution. We are going to place it for the present in Huntington Hall.

Yours sincerely,

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Dawpool, Thurstaston, Birkenhead,

Sept. 27, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington

On my return home from Harrogate yesterday, I found a picture of Mr. Huntington, & I am writing at once to thank you so much for thinking of me & tell you how truly I appreciate your great kindness, and how much I shall value it. It is an excellent likeness and his good, noble face recalls very vividly the happy past when you and your dear husband spent a few days with us here. It is all so changed for us both now, still the remembrance of their strong and helpful lives is a comfort to us now.

Yours most sincerely,

MARGARET ISMAY

Consulate General for Siam, New York,

April 25, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the portrait of my much esteemed and lamented friend, the late Mr. Huntington. We must all feel to congratulate ourselves that so late and finely spirited likeness has been given to us. . . .

Sincerely and Faithfully yours,

ISAAC TOWNSEND SMITH

Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico, Sept. 5, 1901

My dear Madame:

I am at a loss for words to express to you my sincere thanks for the photograph of your esteemed husband. . . . I had considered myself lucky in possessing a lithograph of Mr. Huntington, which I took from *The Sunset*, a magazine published by the Southern Pacific Company. . . . I admired Mr. Huntington because he was a great man, and now that we have lost him, I revere and honor his memory.

Your most obedient servant,

GUILLERMO H. ROBINSON

Compania del Ferrocarril International Mexicano,
Ciudad Porfirio Diaz, Coahuila, Mexico,

15 Sept. 1901

Dear Madam—

Your kindness is greatly appreciated in sending me a portrait of Mr. Huntington. It will be prized always in remembrance of him. There never was a suggestion, in our relations with others, in all my intercourse with him, that was not just and equitable. So far as I know he sought only what could be gained fairly, and with due consideration for others. He was careful in making contracts, but liberal in their execution, especially where the other party encountered unexpected difficulties. He surprised subordinate field officers with his knowledge of details, and yet his mind was not so encumbered with them as to obscure his vision as to large affairs. His precepts as to economy, industry, and integrity, have made lasting impressions upon many young men. . . .

Very sincerely yours,

L. M. JOHNSON

Southern Pacific Company, Office Superintendent

Sept. 7, 1901

Dear Madam:—

I have received with great pleasure the splendid picture of the late Mr. C. P. Huntington, and beg to thank you most heartily and sincerely for your consideration in sending this remembrance of him which I can assure you will always be greatly prized by me.

While he was beloved by all, from the trackwalker up, and was always kind and considerate to the old employee, at the same time not until he left us did we fully appreciate what we owed to him personally, and that feeling increases as the days go by.

I commenced to work for the Southern Pacific thirty years ago, and have risen from night operator to my present position, all of which I owe to Mr. Huntington, and during these years I have endeavored to lay by something, so that now the old days are gone,

and we are working under new conditions and new management, in the event of my being called upon to follow so many of the "Old Guard" into retirement, I have enough to keep my family in comfort for the rest of our days. For this reason, and many others, I shall ever hold his memory in affectionate esteem. . . .

Faithfully yours,
JAS. OGDEN (?)

1521 Clay Street, San Francisco, California.

August 31, 1901

Dear Mrs. Huntington,

. . . It shall have the place of honor in my home. When a boy in Sacramento in 1851—now fifty years ago—I became acquainted with Mr. Huntington, and the friendship then formed between us continued without interruption until the day of his death. I hold him in strong and grateful remembrance for many kindnesses to me in the way of sound advice, use of his personal influence in my behalf, and as one of the chief Railroad Directors who gave me employment in a trusted capacity which I have held for the last thirty-five years.

In his decease the whole community has suffered a very serious loss in an industrial way, and I, in common with the other old employees of the Railroad Company, feel that I have lost a powerful and just friend. . . .

Yours very faithfully,
JEROME MADDEN

49 Second Street, San Francisco, Cal.

August 30, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

. . . No man ever treated me more kindly and considerately than Mr. Huntington always did, and when he died, I felt as did many thousands of the men who worked for him, that we all had lost one of our best friends. It was an honor to know him, and his memory will always be cherished. . . .

Yours very truly,
E. P. VINING.

27 Prince Street, Elizabeth, N. J.

May 3, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington,

. . . The photo is excellent and a perfect likeness. I shall cherish it as I do the memory of your honored husband, whom I delighted to call my friend. As the days go by we miss him more and more at the office. I count it a great privilege to have had such intimate association with him for so many years, and from him to have learned so many valuable lessons.

Very truly yours,

F. H. DAVIS.

San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 29, 1901

My dear Mrs. Huntington

. . . It was my good fortune to be thrown in contact with Mr. Huntington, and I appreciate the fact that during the last eight years of his life, he put himself out in a great many ways to make things pleasant for me. . . .

Yours very respectfully,

RICHARD STEVENSON

817 H Street, Sacramento, Aug. 30, 1901

Dear Madam:

. . . I was employed by your late husband for over thirty-seven years, and many were the kindnesses received at his hands. . . . I shall always appreciate the picture as one of the treasures of this life.

Very respectfully yours,

BENJ. WELCH

Guaymas, Senora, Mexico. Oct. 10, 1901

Dear Mrs. Huntington

. . . I often wish he could have been spared to us many years yet. He was one of the great men of the century whose memory will be more highly appreciated as time passes. He was not only kind and considerate to his official family but to the rank and file. I am proud to say that I enjoyed his confidence in the interests intrusted to me for which I am grateful. . . .

Yours very respectfully,
J. A. NAUGLE.

My dear Mrs. Huntington:

San Francisco, Aug. 29, 1901

. . . It is not necessary to say to you how highly I prized the friendship of Mr. Huntington, nor how fondly and proudly I cherish his memory. I knew, as few men have had the opportunity of knowing, the many noble traits of his character, the breadth of his understanding, the grandeur of his conceptions, and the possessions of those attributes which conferred upon him a more symmetrical and fully rounded greatness than any man I have known. . . . The picture will be cherished and transmitted to those who come after me, and who, by reason of his greatness and his friendship, will continue a reverence for his memory in our family. . . .

Very sincerely yours,
WM. H. MILLS.

Dear Madam—

New Orleans, Aug. 30, 1901

. . . Having had occasion to see Mr. Huntington every year as he passed through New Orleans on his annual trip to the Pacific Coast, I shall always remember his cordial greeting. His unfailing kindness and noble traits endeared him to his employees, and made them loyal to him. . . .

Very respectfully,
THORNWELL FAY

Washington, D. C., Sept. 17, 1901

Dear Madam—

. . . I thank you sincerely for remembering me in this way. No one of his employees (as I wrote you shortly after his death) appreciated or loved Mr. Huntington more than myself. Not a day passes that I do not find myself wishing that he might have lived longer his own vigorous life. . . .

Very truly yours,
D. A. CHAMBERS

Respected Madam:

LaFayette, La., Sept. 2, 1901

I beg to acknowledge with grateful thanks, the receipt of a splendid picture of my lamented employer and friend, especially thanking you for your kind remembrance of a humble employee, so distant from you. And my daily fervent prayer is for the rest of the soul of my good friend. . . .

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. V. PARKERSON.

Southern Pacific Company, Law Department
San Francisco, Aug. 30, 1901

Dear Madam:

. . . I shall treasure this life-like picture as a souvenir of the man, who, taken all in all, was the greatest and best man I ever knew. I wish that everybody could have known him as I knew him, not only as the wisest and strongest, but by far the kindest and most charitable among those whose lives were spent in the consummation of that great railroad work, and in the responsibilities of controlling it afterward. . . .

I admired him for his greatness—his birthright of power which caused many a large man to seem small in his presence, I recall him now with reverence because of his justness and kindness, and I am glad to think of him as a friend. . . .

Very sincerely yours,
D. R. SESSIONS.

Southern Pacific Company, Oakland, Cal.

Dear Madame:

Sept. 7, 1901

. . . In conveying to you my high appreciation of his genius and admiration of his character, I am but feebly voicing the sentiments of all my comrades who have assisted in the many great undertakings made possible by that genius, and we cannot but feel that with his loss has gone the spirit, light and inspiration that has been our guide in the years past.

Yours very respectfully,

WM. MCKENZIE.

Southern Pacific Company, Hospital Department

Dear Mrs. Huntington:

San Francisco, Sept. 7, 1901

. . . During Mr. Huntington's visits to California I saw a good deal of him. The more I did see of him, the more I realized what a truly great man he was. Always the friend of his employees, he took particular interest in provision for the care of the sick and injured among them. Whenever he came to San Francisco, he always found time to visit our general hospital, and he very thoughtfully provided for the patients there a most excellent library of over 2,000 volumes, and purchased on his own account land adjoining the hospital grounds for their use. Had he lived, I know he would have made still further and better provision for them. We have, therefore, special reason to remember him with gratitude, and to regret his death. . . .

Yours very respectfully,

M. GARDNER, M.D.

Here are listed forty-two letters of the eighty-eight received. The rest of them, from the great and near-great, are similar in character, expressing appreciation for the picture and respect, admiration and high regard for Mr. Huntington.

NOTES AND REFERENCES



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4. *The Annals of California*. New York, 1855, p. 548.
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6. *California Mail Bag*, Nov. 1873.
7. *Sacramento Union*, Jan. 28, 30; Feb. 6, 1864.
8. *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1868.
9. Crocker manuscript in Bancroft Library.
10. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
11. Hittell, John S. *History of the City of San Francisco*. San Francisco, 1878, p. 369.
12. Young, *op. cit.*, p. 421.
13. *California Spirit of the Times*, Oct. 24, 1885.
14. *San Francisco Call*, Oct. 3, 1895.
15. From page 3 of this "Letter of Arthur McEwen" (who was an editor of Hearst's *Examiner*), the following quotation was used as the opening sentence in what purported to be a biographical sketch of Collis P. Huntington published in 1938: "A hard and cheery old man with no more soul than a shark." From this beginning, one does not expect or find an unbiased, unprejudiced account of Mr. Huntington and his work.
16. In *Re Huntington*. District Court, S. D. New York, May 7, 1895. (68 F. 881.)
17. *San Francisco Call*: Jan. 5; March 23, 24, 27; April 5, 23; May 2, 15; Aug. 14, and Oct. 4, 1895.
18. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1898.

CHAPTER XLVI

1. Section 10 of the Act of 1862 refers to the Central Pacific as "a corporation existing under the laws of the State of California"; yet due doubtless to the many provisions imposed on the Central Pacific, as well as the privileges and benefits provided, the claim was made repeatedly on occasions that the franchise had been granted by the Government.

2. (1) Opinion of Justice Sawyer delivered in the U. S. Circuit Court at San Francisco, Aug. 29, 1887:
The Central Pacific Railroad Company is absolute owner of the lands and bonds granted to it by the Government, having complied with the Act making the grant. . . . The relation of creditor and debtor exists between the U. S. and the Central Pacific under the Act granting aid to the latter with like force and effect of private persons.
(2) Hittell, John S. *Commerce and Industry of the Pacific Coast*. San Francisco, 1882, p. 168.
3. Haymond, Creed. Argument before the Senate Committee, April 7, 1888, p. 171.
4. See Huntington statement in Chapter XXXIV.
5. Huntington, C. P. Letter to J. Proctor Knott, May 15, 1874.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Stanford, Leland. Statement before the Senate Committee, March 17, 1888, p. 8.
8. Hafen, Leroy R. *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*. Cleveland, 1926, p. 327.
9. Lansing, Gerrit L. *Relations Between the Central Pacific Railroad Company and the U. S. Government*. San Francisco, 1889, p. 60.
10. Davis, John P. *The Union Pacific Railway*. Chicago, 1894, p. 209.
11. Hopkins documents, v. 1, p. 33.
12. U. S. Pacific Railway Commission. *Report*, 1887, p. 87.
13. *Congressional Record*, April 1878, p. 2368.
14. Poor, Henry V. "The Pacific Railroad." (In *North American Review*, v. 128, June 1879, p. 664.)
15. Lansing, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

CHAPTER XLVII

1. *Congressional Record*, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, 1886-1887. Senator Edmunds, p. 2272.
2. Stanford, Leland. Testimony before the Pacific Railway Commission, 1887, p. 4172.
3. *Congressional Record*, *op. cit.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 2265.
5. *Ibid.*, 2268.
6. *Ibid.*, 2270.
7. *Ibid.*, 2273.
8. *Ibid.*, 2279.
9. *Ibid.*, 2275.
10. Haymond, Creed. *The Central Pacific Railroad Company: Its Relations to the Government*. Washington, D. C., 1888, p. 132.
11. *Congressional Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 2279.
12. *Report of the Pacific Railway Commission*, pp. 106-129.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

14. U. S. Pacific Railway Commission. *Testimony*, v. 5, p. 2743.
15. *California Spirit of the Times*, Aug. 1887.
16. Haymond, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
17. Senate ex. doc., no. 51, p. 38. 50th Congress, 1887.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-153.
19. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, v. 7, p. 5182.
20. The Senate Select Committee was composed of Senators Frye, Dawes, Hiscock, Davis, Morgan, Butler, and Hearst.
21. Haymond, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
22. The Hon. Creed Haymond was born in Beverly, Randolph County, Virginia, April 22, 1836. His father was the Hon. W. C. Haymond, one of Virginia's most distinguished lawyers.
23. A stenographic report of this argument was published by the Government. A later edition was published in San Francisco in 1888.

CHAPTER XLVIII

1. Daggett, Stuart. *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific*. New York, 1922, p. 395.
2. *Messages of the Presidents*. v. 7, 4837.
3. Senate Res. No. 293, ser. no. 2703, 51st Cong. 1st Sess., 1889-1890.
4. *Messages, op. cit.*, v. 7, p. 5640.
5. Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads. *Report of the Majority*, Feb. 19, 1869. W. M. Stewart, chairman.
6. Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads for the 54th Cong., 1st Sess., was composed of the following members: Gear of Iowa, Chairman, Stewart of Nevada, Davis of Minnesota, Wolcott of Colorado, Frye of Maine, Brice of Ohio, Morgan of Alabama, Faulkner of West Virginia, and Murphy of Arizona.
7. Another estimate of Mr. Huntington as a Lobbyist is given by Joseph H. Moore in his *Open Letter*, c. 1896: If a persistent intermeddler without proper warrant in Government affairs, an unscrupulous dealer in threats and promises among public men, a constant menace to sworn servants of the people in their offices of trust, a temptor of the corrupt and a terror to the timid who are delegated to power, a remorseless enemy to wholesome legislation, a constant friend to conspirators against the common welfare for private gain—if such a compound of dangerous and insolent qualities merged into one personality, active, vigilant, unblushing, be a Lobbyist, then Collis Potter Huntington is a Lobbyist at the doors of Congress, in its corridors, and in the councils of Washington. (!!)
8. Johnson, Grove L. "Funding the Pacific Railroads' Indebtedness." (In the *Overland Monthly*, v. 28, Oct. 1896.)
9. Haymond, Creed. *Argument before the Senate Committee*, 1888.
10. Cleveland, Grover. *Messages of the Presidents*, v. 8, p. 6170.
11. McKinley, William. *Messages of the Presidents*, v. 8, p. 6342.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6343.

13. (a) *Ibid.*, p. 6389. (b) Report of the Committee. H. R. doc., no. 238, serial no. 3812. 55th Cong., 3rd Sess., Feb. 20, 1899.
14. McKinley, *op. cit.*, p. 6390.
15. For details of the settlement, see the Appendix to the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Central Pacific Company, for the year ending June 30, 1899.
16. *Government and the American Economy, 1870 to the Present. Select Problems in Historical Interpretation.* By Thomas Manning (and others). New York, 1850, p. 51.
17. It will be noted that "six" companies are said to have received Government bonds; also, that the amounts of the loan, interest received, and sum collected differ from Government figures. The source of information is not given.
18. Professor Hugo R. Meyer of Harvard University.
19. Hunter, Louis C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers.* Harvard University Press, 1849, pp. 190-192.
20. Beckley, John L. "All the Railroads Want Is a Square Deal." (In *Reader's Digest*, July 1950, pp. 119-123.)
21. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

CHAPTER XLIX

1. *Congressional Record.* 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1893, p. 67.
2. Railroad pamphlets in Stanford University Library.
3. Adolph Heinrich Sutro was born in Prussia on April 29, 1830, of Jewish parentage. He emigrated to America in 1850, settled in Baltimore, and arrived in San Francisco in 1851. He was elected mayor of that city in 1894 on the Populist ticket, and during his two years' term, he was constantly in strife with the Board of Supervisors and the railways operating within that city. He made a fortune in constructing a tunnel in the Comstock mine. His mind became deranged in 1897, and he died Aug. 8, 1898.—*Dictionary of American Biography.*
4. Marcus D. Boruck, editor of *The California Spirit of the Times*, and one-time secretary to the Governor of California.
5. In the Sutro Branch of the California State Library, San Francisco.
6. Railroad pamphlets in the Stanford University Library.
7. The Report of the Pacific Railway Commission in 1888, p. 87, charged that all the dividends on the stock of the Central Pacific went almost entirely to the four associates as they were substantially the only stockholders.
8. Another explanation of the \$1,000 a month subsidy was that the Southern Pacific Company had engaged twenty pages of the *Examiner's* World Fair edition for advertising purposes.
9. Prescott Belknap.
10. Walker, Franklin Dickerson. *Ambrose Bierce, the Wickedest Man in San Francisco.* 1941.
11. Atherton, Gertrude, in a letter to John H. Carmody.
12. Starrett, Vincent. *Ambrose Bierce.* Chicago, 1920, p. 11.
13. Castro, Adolph de. *Portrait of Ambrose Bierce.* New York, 1929.

14. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
16. Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
18. Daggett, *op. cit.*, p. 373.
19. Collection of letters to Ambrose Bierce in the Stanford University Library.
20. The Funding Bill over which had been the bitter fight was defeated in May, 1896. Other funding bills were introduced later but all were defeated.
21. Starrett, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
22. Fatout, Paul. *The Devil's Lexicographer*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951.
23. Starrett, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
24. Neale, Walter. *Life of Ambrose Bierce*. New York, 1929, p. 95.
25. Pope, Bertha Clark. *Letters of Ambrose Bierce*. San Francisco, 1922, p. ix.
26. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
27. Russell, Charles Edward. *Stories of the Great Railroads*. Chicago, 1912, p. 257.
28. Hunt, Rockwell Dennis. *California and Californians*. 5 vols. Chicago, Ill., 1926, v. 4, p. 60.
29. The Washington *Star*, March 20, 1896.
30. Pope, *op. cit.*
31. Bierce, Leigh. Letter to Ambrose Bierce, his father, May 29, 1899. (In the collection of letters to Ambrose Bierce in the Stanford University Library.)

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1. Hittell, John S. *History of the City of San Francisco*. San Francisco, 1878, p. 450.
2. Brown, Harvey S. (Counsel for the defendants) Charles Main vs. Central Pacific Railroad Company, 1886.
3. Fulton, Robert Lardin. *Epic of the Overland*. San Francisco, 1924.
4. *The Railroad Gazette*, March 2, 1900.
5. Riesenbergh, Felix, Jr. *Golden Gate, the Story of San Francisco Harbor*. New York, 1940, p. 200.
6. The San Francisco *Call*, May 14, 1900.
7. *Town Topics*. "A Great American." [ca. Sept. 1900.]
8. *Academy of Pacific Coast History*. University of California, Berkeley. Publications, v. 2, p. 331.
9. San Francisco *Call*, April 11, 1900.
10. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1890.
11. San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 17, 1915.
12. Clark, George T. *Leland Stanford*. Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. 383-408.
13. Bancroft, H. H. *Chronicles of the Builders*, v. 6, p. 69.

14. *Ibid.*
15. Willis, William L. *History of Sacramento County*. Los Angeles, 1913, p. 404.
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17. James, George Wharton. *Sports at Huntington Lake Lodge in the High Sierras*. Pasadena, 1916.
18. Bulletin of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum. San Francisco, 1943-1948.
19. Allen, William and Avery, Richard B. *California Gold Book: Its Discovery and Discoverers*. San Francisco, 1893.

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2. *Ibid.*
3. Nelson, James Poyntz. *Address Before the Railway Men's Improvement Society*, New York, Jan. 27, 1916.
4. Burk, T. J. "The City of Huntington." (In the *Huntington Herald*, Dec. 14, 1895.)
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6. Hastings, George W. "Early Days on the C. & O." (In *Tracks*, C. & O. Railway magazine, Dec. 1938.)
7. Quoted by the *Huntington Argus*, Nov. 9, 1872.
8. Wallace, George Seldon. *Huntington Through 75 Years*. Huntington, 1947, p. 83.
9. *Huntington Argus*, June 21, Aug. 23, 1873.
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2. Armitage, Laura E. *Quiz Book of Facts Relating to the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway*. Quiz 4.
3. Vernon, Edward. *American Railroad Manual for the United States and the Dominion*. New York, 1874.
4. The *Richmond Dispatch*, July 1, 1869.

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2. *The Herald Advertiser*. (Huntington, W. Va.) Feb. 24, 1946.

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4. Burke, *op. cit.*
5. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
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4. *Lexington Daily Telegraph*, Dec. 13, 1881.
5. Frazier, Harry. *Recollections*. Huntington, W. Va., 1938.
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7. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1881.
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10. *Kentucky Gazette*, March 24, 26, 1880.
11. Axtell, Decatur. Manuscript in the C. & O. Records Office, Richmond, Va.
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1. The Norfolk *Virginian*, July 13, Nov. 17, 1869.
2. Wertenbaker, T. J. *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port*. Durham, N. C., 1931, p. 305.
3. *Fads and Fancies of Representative Americans at the Beginning of the 20th Century*. New York, 1905, p. 81.
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 Capt. Hotchkiss was a topographical engineer in the Confederate Army, afterward a mining engineer. It seems quite evident that he had been in communication with Collis P. Huntington before this article was written.
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6. Nelson, James Poyntz. *The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway*. Richmond, Va., 1927, p. 17.
7. The Norfolk *Landmark*, June, 1881.
8. Norfolk *Daily Dispatch*, Oct. 18, 1881.
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3. The Norfolk *Ledger-Dispatch*. May 21, 1952.
4. *Tracks*, C. & O. Railway magazine, May 1852, p. 8.
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2. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 55, 1947, pp. 31-44.
3. Stauffer, William T. "Newport News." (In the *Daily Press*, May 14, 1939.)
4. West, George B. *Vignettes of Yesterday: A Letter to the Pioneers, May 14, 1939.*

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6. A detailed history of Newport News in various articles may be found in the volume, *Newport News' 325 Years, a Record of the Progress of a Virginia Community*, published at Newport News in 1846 by The Newport News Golden Anniversary Corporation.

CHAPTER LIX

1. See Chapter XII.
2. Annual Report of the Newport News & Mississippi Valley Company, May, 1887.
3. Axtell, Decatur. Manuscript in the Chesapeake & Ohio Records Office. Richmond, Virginia.
4. *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, v. 49, July 1889, p. 94.
5. *Railway Gazette*, March 16, April 6, July 27, 1888.

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1. Armitage, Laura E. *Quiz Book of Facts Relating to the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company*. Quiz 7.
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8. Axtell, Decatur. Manuscript in the Chesapeake & Ohio Records Office, Richmond, Va.
9. Moger, *op. cit*.
10. *Daily Press*, Newport News, Va. Feb. 3, 1952.

CHAPTER LXI

1. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Glasgow, 1906, v. 19, p. 90.
2. Much of the material used in writing these sketches of the early history of the Shipyard is found in the "History of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company to December 1934." This is a statistical and chronological account of the Shipyard compiled by Mr. E. O. Smith, an employee, for the files of the Mariners' Museum.
3. From "Views of Simpson's Patent Improved Timber Dry Docks," constructed by J. E. Simpson & Co., New York, 1888. Plates.

CHAPTER LXII

1. Miles, George E. *Launch of El Sud—Souvenir*. New York, privately printed c. 1892.
2. Detailed plans of the battleships *Kentucky* and *Kearsarge* in four folio volumes are on file in the library of the Mariners' Museum, the gift of Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, Oct. 1933, then President of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company.
3. Bailey, Charles F. *Notes on the Shipyard. June 10, 1932.*

CHAPTER LXIII

1. *The Nautical Gazette*, v. 89, March 30, 1916, p. 6.

CHAPTER LXIV

1. This characteristic of Mr. Huntington became well known. The *Cleveland Marine Review* of March 30, 1899, said in an editorial: "In no other enterprise of equal magnitude in America was its founder so completely in touch with every detail of development during its entire formative period. The Work of Collis Potter Huntington in this particular is nothing short of marvelous."
2. From *The Shipbuilder*, v. 1, Jan. 1919, p. 8.

CHAPTER LXV

1. Much of the information concerning the present state of the Shipyard given in this chapter was found in the *Shipyard Bulletin*, 1940-1952, Fairmount R. White, editor.
2. Seven large volumes of photographs of the Shipyard and its products from 1889 to 1938, arranged chronologically, and giving a pictorial history of the Yard, are on file in the library of the Mariners' Museum.

CHAPTER LXVI

1. *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1900.
2. *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1900.
3. *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1900.
4. Southern Pacific Company. *Resolutions of the Board of Directors, Sept. 6, 1900.*
5. Pacific Mail Steamship Company. *Resolutions of the Board of Directors, Nov. 9, 1900.*
6. Mexican International Railroad Company. *Resolutions of the Board of Directors, Sept. 24, 1900.*
7. Central Pacific Railway Company. *Resolutions of the Board of Directors, Oct. 18, 1900.*
8. *Railroad Gazette*, Aug. 17, 1900, editorial.
9. *Review of Reviews* (American), Sept. 1900.

10. Testimony of "a close friend" as given by a reporter of the *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1900.
11. *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1900.
12. *Town Topics*, New York, Aug. 16, 1900.
13. *Fads and Fancies of Representative Americans at the Beginning of the 20th Century*. New York, 1905, p. 76.
14. The San Francisco *Examiner* for March 21, 1914, with characteristic disregard for facts refers to the demolition of this house and adds: "Once the bon ton residence districts of the town . . . one of the old residents recalled that the Princess Hatzfeldt, adopted daughter, once lived in the old home and entertained the society folk there." That lady left the house in 1862 as an infant in arms.
15. *Town Topics*, *op. cit.*
16. In Behrman's *Days of Duveen*, New York, 1952, p. 192, it is stated that Mrs. Huntington filled the house with tapestries, pictures and "fragile French gilt chairs" and Mr. Huntington who weighed two hundred and fifty pounds, couldn't sit on them and hated the house. From the testimony of friends who visited there and from photographs of the interior, the chairs were not only strong and durable but in some rooms massive in size. There was not a "fragile gilt chair" in the house.
Other writers, too, have stated that Mr. Huntington hated the Fifth Avenue house and refused to live there. However, his son, who lived with him for a time, said simply, "He loved every inch of it."
In a review of this book by Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the *New York Times Book Review*, March 23, 1952, he says, "Seldom has there been a book so misleading and so false."
17. The New York *World*, Dec. 8, 1894.
18. In 1896, photographs were made of 150 of these paintings and arranged in alphabetical order by artist in three large volumes by Mr. Archer M. Huntington.
19. *Fads and Fancies*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
20. Told the writer by Archer M. Huntington, the son.
21. Cornelius, Fidelis, Brother. *Keith, Old Master of California*. New York, 1942, p. 294.
22. *Fads and Fancies*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
23. Lummis, Charles Fletcher. "Western Letters." (In *Out West*, v. 16, March 1902, p. 281.)
24. Catalogue published by the DeVinne Press, March 1897, for A.M.H.

CHAPTER LXVII

1. *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1900.
2. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Nov. 29, 1903.
3. Kennan, George. *E. H. Harriman: A Biography*. Boston, 1922. v. 1, Chapter 9.
4. San Francisco *Call*, Aug. 15, 1895.

5. Daggett, Stuart. *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific*. New York, 1922, p. 131.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
7. San Francisco *Examiner*, April 15, 1910.
8. Daggett, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
9. Axtell, Decatur. *The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway*. (Typescript in the C. & O. Records Office.)
10. Mexican International Railroad Company. *Resolutions of the Board of Directors, Sept. 24, 1900*.
11. Speech of Mr. Huntington at the tenth annual banquet given by him for the Southern Pacific officials, San Francisco, May 13, 1899.
12. New York *Times*, Aug. 16, 1900.

CHAPTER LXVIII

1. *Fads and Fancies of Representative Americans at the Beginning of the 20th Century*. New York, 1905, p. 76.
2. *Wall Street Journal*, May 17, 1934.
3. Bancroft, H. H. *Chronicles of the Builders*. 6 vols. San Francisco, 1891, v. 5, p. 112.
4. *Souvenir of the Westchester Library and Reading Room*. Westchester, N. Y., 1891, p. 10, 11.
5. San Francisco *Call*, March 21, 1902.
6. Newport News *Daily Press*, Dec. 24, 1933.
7. Proske, Beatrice Gilman. *Brookgreen Gardens Sculpture*. Brookgreen, 1934, p. 8.

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Collection of 54 original letters to Mark Hopkins, 1874-1878. (In Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

Collection of 303 original letters to Calvin B. Orcutt, President of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company, 1891-1900. (In the Records of the Company.)

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MATERIAL

ACTS OF CONGRESS RELATING TO THE
PACIFIC RAILROADS:

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| 1862, July 1 | Act to aid in the construction of a railroad . . . from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. |
| 1863, March 3 | Establishing a gauge of 4 feet 8.5 inches for the tracks. |
| 1864, July 2 | Amendment to Act of July 1, 1862. |
| 1866, June 15 | Pacific Railroads made post routes. |
| 1866, July 3 | Central Pacific to continue eastward to meet the Union Pacific. |
| 1866, July 25 | Land grants made to the California & Oregon Railroad. |
| 1868, March 6 | Restoring lands to market along the Central Pacific. |
| 1868, June 25 | Reports of railroads to be filed with the Secretary of the Interior. |
| 1869, April 10 | Protection of interests of the Government. |
| 1870, May 6 | Point of junction established. |
| 1871, March 3 | One-half compensation for services to the Government to be paid to the Secretary of the Treasury. |
| 1873, March 3 | Withholding ALL compensation (decision of the Supreme Court to the contrary, notwithstanding.) |
| 1874, June 20 | Penalty for refusing to operate roads as a continuous line. |
| 1874, June 22 | Provision for the collection of moneys due the Government from the railroads. |
| 1878, May 7 | Thurman Act, an amendment to Act of 1864. |
| 1887, March 3 | Appointment of the Pacific Railway Commission. |
| 1898, July 7 | Appointment of the Refunding Commission. |
| 1899, February 20 | Settling the debt. |

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- LUTTRELL, JOHN K. *Central Pacific Company: preamble and resolution submitted to Congress, Jan. 12, 1874.* (H. Misc. Doc. No. 68, 43 Cong. 1 Sess., 1874.)
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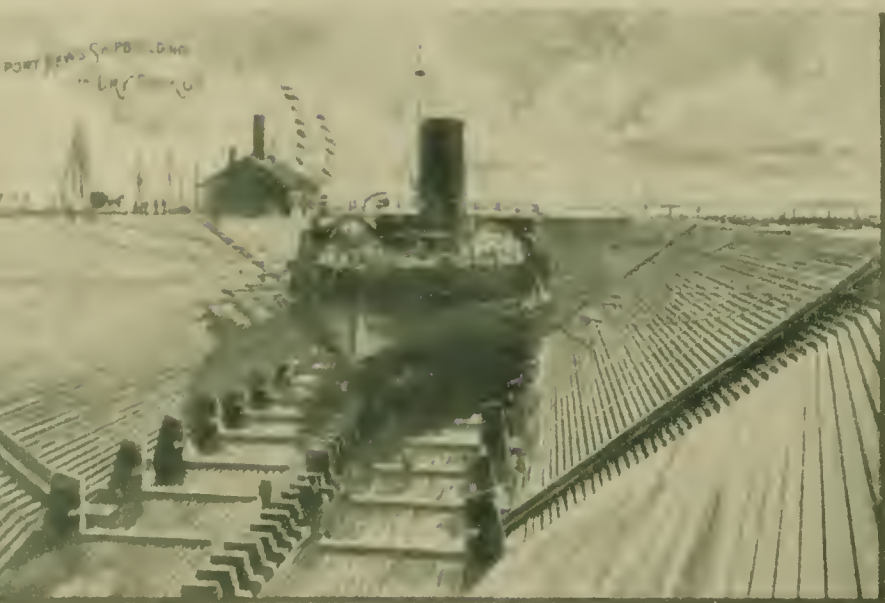
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